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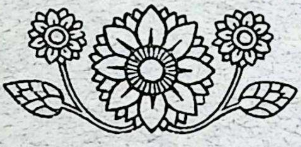
A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum



PART I

Early Indian Schools

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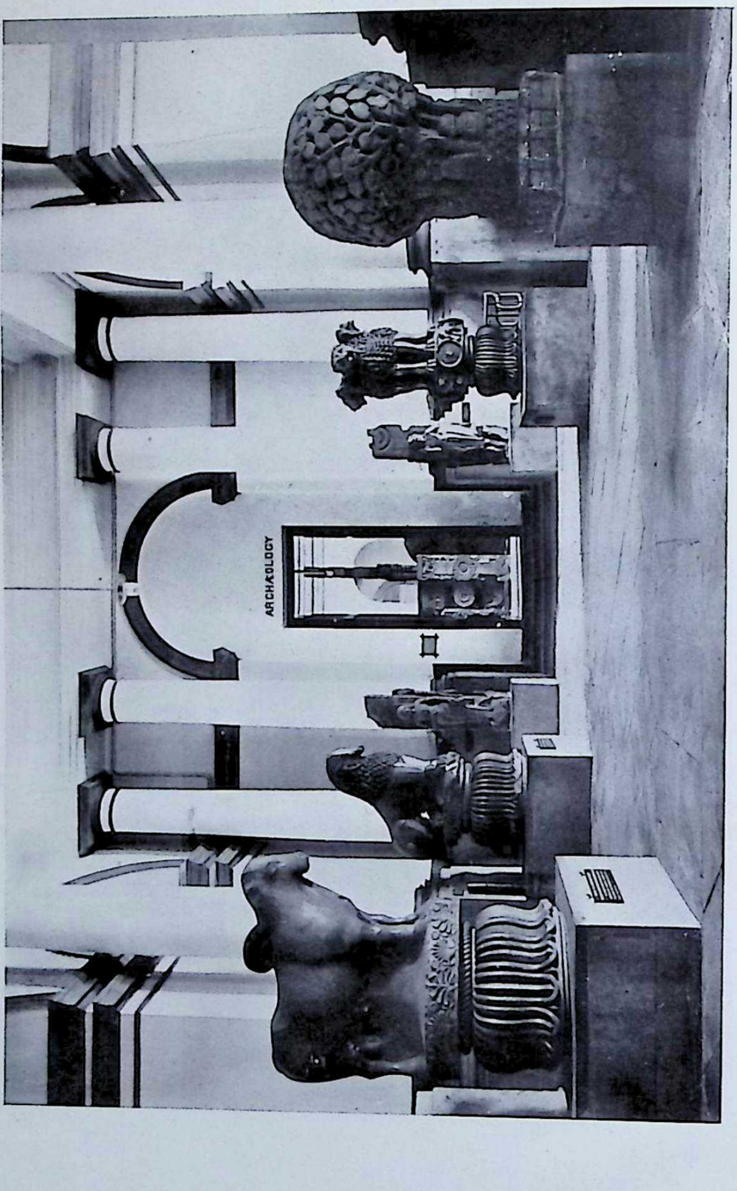
ARCHÆOLOGY

Sculptures in Entrance Hall

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

A
GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES
IN THE
INDIAN MUSEUM

PART I
Early Indian Schools

BY

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PREFACE

This volume forms part of a series of Guide-books to the Indian Museum, Archæological Section, which has been planned chiefly with a view to meet the requirements of the visitors. It deals with the Maurya and Śuṅga sculptures exhibited in the Entrance Hall, the Bharhut Room, the Western Corridor of the Ground Floor and in a show-case of the Long Gallery of the Museum. For obvious reasons only essential and general information concerning the exhibits has been incorporated in this Guide, and an attempt has been made to render it as much free from technicalities as possible. Those who would like to pursue the subject in greater detail should refer to the literature mentioned under 'Short Bibliography,' which has been freely utilized in this compilation.

The Bharhut reliefs have been numbered serially (1-437), and these fresh numbers adopted in the text instead of those given by Anderson in his *Catalogue and Handbook*, Part I, published in 1883. The numbers of the objects treated in the Guide are specified against each item and a Numerical Index together with page references is provided at the end for the facility of the visitors.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA
May 1936

CONTENTS

PAGE

I.—SCULPTURES IN ENTRANCE HALL . . . 1

II.—REMAINS OF THE BHARHUT STŪPA:

Introductory 11

1. The Decorative Reliefs 17
2. The Life-size Figures 22
3. The Jātaka Representations 29
4. Scenes from the Life of Gautama 40
5. Scenes relating to Past Buddhas 46
6. Unidentified Scenes 48
7. The Art of Bharhut 54

III.—MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES:

1. SĀÑCHĪ. 2. BUDDHA-GAYĀ. 3. PATNA AND RAJGIR. 4. UDAYAGIRI CAVES, ORISSA. 5. SĀRNĀTH 57

APPENDIX: THE BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS 85

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY 96

NUMERICAL INDEX 99

INDEX 103

LIST OF PLATES

Frontispiece : Sculptures in Entrance Hall.
I.—Rāmpurwā : *a-b.* Capitals of Aśoka pillars.
II.—Patna and Besnagar : *a-b.* Yaksha statues from Patna. *c-d.* Yakshī statue from Besnagar.
III.—Bharhut : General view of Railing.
IV.—Bharhut : *a.* Detailed view of Railing. *b.* Details of corner-pillar of *a.*
V.—Bharhut : *a-b.* Detailed views of Railing—corner-pillar in *b* shows Yaksha Kubera and Yakshī Chandrā.
VI.—Bharhut : *a.* End of Gateway architrave. *b.* The Fertility goddess. *c.* Railing showing the goddess Chulakokā.
VII.—Bharhut : *a.* Warrior God. *b.* Yakshī Sudasanā. *c.* Yaksha Supāvasa. *d.* Goddess Sirimā.
VIII.—Bharhut : *a-b.* Scenes from the Buddha's Life.
IX.—Bharhut : *a.* Chhadaṁtiya-Jātaka. *b.* The Dream of Māyā.
X.—Bharhut : *a.* Mahākapi-Jātaka. *b.* Jetavana scene.
XI.—Miscellaneous : *a.* Serpent-hood from Rājgir. *b.* Bracket figure from Sāñchī. *c.* Griffin figure from Patna. *d.* Railing from Patna.

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM

I. SCULPTURES IN ENTRANCE HALL

Capitals of Asokan pillars

As the visitor enters the Indian Museum by its Main Gate he finds himself in a hall (see *Frontispiece*) containing some of the best known examples of a School of sculpture that developed under the patronage of the great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka (*circa* 273-232 B.C.), of the Maurya dynasty. These are the Rāmpurwā Lion and Bull capitals and a cast of the Sārnāth Lion capital.

Asokan art

The striking features of Asokan sculpture, as illustrated by the Museum specimens, are its strength and massiveness, characteristics which it shares with the contemporary, or slightly earlier, sculpture of Persia and Assyria. Indian art of the third century B.C., as seen in Aśoka's pillars, is well developed and mature, while that of the following century, represented by the monuments of Bharhut and Sāñchī, is yet in a rudimentary stage. This disparity has led Sir John Marshall to conclude that the authors of the pillars were not Indian. He is of opinion that a strong Persian influence can be detected in the bell-shaped capitals,[1] in the crowning animal figures set back to back and also in the lustrous polish with which the shafts and capitals are covered. Again, the preambles of the Edicts engraved on the Asokan shafts bear a close parallel to those of the Persian Emperors Darius and Xerxes (6th-5th centuries B.C.). In the highly realistic modelling and anatomical treatment of the animals, one detects, however, a Greek rather than a Persian tendency, and the artists responsible for the Asokan columns appear to have been trained in the Hellenistic School. The art which the sculptures represent has thus to be regarded as Perso-Hellenic in origin ; and according to Marshall, the columns were the handiwork of Bactrian artists.[1] During the next century the same Bactrian School was responsible for the realistic portraits and figures of kings and divinities on the Indo-Greek coins, although the style was not adopted by the contemporary Indian Schools. This style, therefore, seems to have begun and ended with Aśoka. Just as Darius had employed craftsmen of many nations for the building and decoration of his Palace at Susa, so also might Aśoka have imported Hellenistic craftsmen from Bactria for his own monuments. The friendly relations which the Mauryas had with the ruling houses of Western Asia might have provided the necessary opportunity for the importation of foreign artizans into India. It is, of course, equally possible that Asokan sculpture was the work of Indian artists under Perso-Hellenic influence. There are certain features in the Asokan columns that must undeniably be described as of indigenous origin. Unlike the pillars at Persepolis, those erected by Aśoka were never intended to support any superstructure or building, and belong to the same class as the free-standing animal-standards of the Brahmanical gods Vishṇu, Śiva and Kandarpa, known respectively as *Garuḍa-dhvaja* (the column crowned by the mythical bird Garuḍa), *Vṛisha-dhvaja* (the column with the bull of Śiva) and *Makara-dhvaja* (the column surmounted by a figure of *makara* or crocodile). This peculiar conception of the Asokan pillars, as well as such decorations as the cable moulding, has been rightly looked upon as Indian. Also in regard to the individual motifs we should note that such Indian subjects as the elephant, humped bull, and geese occur side by side with the honey-suckle, palmette, and 'bead and reel' (*cf.* Indo-Greek and Seleucid coins), which are to be regarded as perfectly foreign. According to R. Chanda, the Imperial art of Aśoka is a synthesis of three contemporary arts, *viz.*, Indian, Persian and Hellenistic. Asokan art, therefore, seems to have been as receptive and catholic in its outlook as Asokan religion. The principal material used by the sculptors was a kind of speckled sandstone from Chunar, a place within easy reach of Pāṭaliputra, the capital (roughly corresponding to Patna City). Thus during this period sculpture had its chief centre in North-Eastern India. The polish peculiar to the monuments seems to have remained in vogue for some time, but probably did not last long after the 2nd century B.C. The qualities of the Imperial art of Aśoka did not survive in the indigenous art of Bharhut and Sāñchī; the latter appears to have developed quite independently of the former. But there are certain motifs, for instance the pillar surmounted by three addorsed lions and often by other animal figures, which are directly copied from the Asokan capitals.

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[1] The bell decorated with petals or pendant leaves occurs at the base of the Persepolitan columns and they are often surmounted by addorsed figures of bulls.

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[1] *See* below p. 19 and n. 1.

CAST OF SĀRNĀTH CAPITAL

N. S. 3596.—The first example we should now consider is a cast of the capital (ht. 7′) of an inscribed monolithic pillar set up by Aśoka at Sārnāth near Benares, brought to light by F. O. Oertel in 1904-5. The original, in speckled sandstone from Chunar, highly polished, is now preserved in two parts: the capital is in the Museum at Sārnāth,[1] while the pillar bearing an edict of Aśoka is still *in situ*, exactly where it was originally erected. The capital consists of four lions seated back to back on an abacus round which are carved in high relief a lion, an elephant, a bull and a galloping horse, each separated from the other by a wheel. The frieze thus conveys the idea of a continuous movement, the progress of the Wheel of Law (*Dharmachakra*), and the entire composition as conceived here is unsurpassed in the whole range of Indian art. Below the abacus is a bell-shaped member; the bell is inverted, having the semblance of an unfolded lotus with the petals clearly marked. Crowning the whole was the Wheel, of which some fragments have also been recovered.

RĀMPURWĀ LION CAPITAL

6298-6299.—Facing the Sārnāth cast is the original lion capital (ht. 7′ 5″) of another column of Aśoka. (Plate I, *a*). It was excavated by Daya Ram Sahni in 1907-8 at Rāmpurwā in the Champaran District of Bihar. The column bearing six of the Pillar-Edicts describing Aśoka's *dharma* or ethical code, now lying at the site, was discovered as early as 1879 by Carlleyle. The crowning figure is a single lion *sejant*, resting on an abacus adorned with a line of geese. Between this and the shaft is the bell-shaped inverted lotus. The capital still retains in places its high lustrous polish. Regarding the treatment of the lion we should note the vigorous modelling of its muscles, veins and paws. Although conventionalized in certain details, for instance, in the uniform curls of its mane, the figure is "endowed with a vitality and strength which rank it amongst the finest sculptures of the Mauryan period."[1]

---

[1] A few fragments, evidently of another Asokan column from Sārnāth, are exhibited in a showcase in the Long Gallery. *See* below p. 83.

RĀMPURWĀ COPPER BOLT

2676.—As it originally stood, the lion capital was connected with the shaft by a cylindrical copper bolt, about 25″ long, which is exhibited against the wall behind the capital. This was found by H. B. W. Garrick and presented to the Museum in 1888. It bears certain dotted symbols, *e.g.*, the hill with crescent top, a cross and a taurine, which occur also on the earliest Indian coins (*kārshāpaṇas*).

RĀMPURWĀ BULL CAPITAL

6297.—Immediately to the north of the lion capital is exhibited a bull (ht. 6′ 9″), being the capital of another Mauryan column which also comes from Rāmpurwā. (Plate I, *b*). Its abacus is decorated with a frieze of honey-suckle, rosette and palmette motifs alternating, instead of the line of geese, and a cable moulding separates the bell from the abacus. The humped bull, with a head rather small for the body, does not exactly harmonize with the abacus on which it stands. The bull relief on the Sārnāth capital, although carved on a miniature scale, is more spirited and lifelike. The pillar, of which the bull capital forms part, does not bear any inscription and has been left at the site. Both the pillar and the bull were dug out by Daya Ram Sahni in 1907-8.

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 1086.

Two Patna Statues

P. 1 and P. 2.—Two colossal male figures in the round, of reddish-grey sandstone, are exhibited in this Hall. (Plate II, *a* and *b*). They were excavated by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton from the vicinity of Patna City in 1812, and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by J. Tytler in 1821.

P. 1.—This is a fat-bellied standing figure (ht. 5′ 5″), the head and the fore-arms of which are lost. (Plate II, *a*). It has armlets and a heavy necklace consisting of several strings of beads, and wears a loin-cloth tied by means of a long belt, below the navel. A scarf passes in an oblique fashion over the left shoulder and the upper part of the body, the drapery being marked by lines in relief.[1] The figure holds a fly-whisk in the right hand, showing its subordinate position. The upper part of the body and also the feet bear traces of the so-called Mauryan polish. A line of inscription is engraved behind the shoulder on the scarf, in characters of about the first century A.D. Considering the archaic features of the statue, which favour as early a date as the second-third century B.C., the inscription appears to have been added later. Although there has been a good deal of controversy over the reading of the inscription, the first two letters at any rate appear to be *yakha*; so that the figure undoubtedly represents a Yaksha, a member of the semi-divine order. From an iconographic point of view it conforms to the type of the Yaksha Māṇibhadra from Pawaya in the Gwalior Museum.

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[1] Drapery lines are so treated in the female *chauri*-bearer from Didargunj, now in the Patna Museum, which belongs to the Maurya period.

P. 2.—It is almost a replica of P. 1 and must have been originally of about the same size (present ht. 4′ 9″). The head of the figure (Plate II, *b*) is preserved, although very much defaced, but the feet are missing. Its drapery is similar to that of P. 1, but the necklace is of a different pattern. The upper part of the statue bears Mauryan polish, and behind the shoulder on the scarf there is a line of inscription in the same characters as those on P. 1. The reading of this inscription also is doubtful, but it probably records the name of a Yaksha like P. 1, and the letters appear to have been engraved long after the statue was made.

BESNAGAR FEMALE STATUE

1796-1797.—Opposite the Patna statues is a standing female figure in the round (ht. 6′ 7″), probably representing a *Yakshī* (Plate II, *c* and *d*). It was found at Besnagar near Bhilsā in the Gwalior State and presented to the Museum by H. H. the Maharaja Sindhia in 1885. The figure has a strict frontal pose and recalls in certain respects the Bharhut female figures. Mark, for instance, the embroidered veil spread over and hanging from the head, but exposing the face, the large massive ear-rings, the necklaces and waist chains, and also the drapery. The feet, it may be noted, are crudely executed. The statue may be assigned to about the middle of the second century B.C.

Cast of Pārkham Statue

N. S. 3791A.—By the side of the Besnagar statue is displayed the cast of a standing male figure in the round (ht. 8′ 8″), having a rather fat belly like the Patna Yakshas. The original was found at Pārkham near Mathurā (U. P.) and is now kept in the Mathurā Museum. The figure rests on the right leg, the left knee being slightly bent forward. It wears heavy ear-rings, a torque and a necklace similar to those of the Bharhut figures. It has a scarf tied round the chest and wears a loin-cloth with an elaborate frill hanging in front, the sheet being tied into a large looped knot by means of a long and cumbrous belt. In both the Pārkham and Besnagar statues, the drapery at the back is indicated by horizontal curves, incised, and not in relief as in the Patna Yakshas. On the original of the Pārkham statue, between the feet, there is a mutilated inscription in Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C. The inscription seems to have at the beginning the word (*Ma*)*nibhada* which probably stands for Yaksha Māṇibhadra, so that the figure may be a representation of that semi-divine being, like the one from Pawaya.

Absence of foreign Influence

The statues from Patna, Besnagar and Pārkham are characterized by a feeling of volume like the Asokan capitals, which considerably adds to their dignity. Products of the ancient indigenous school, they are uninfluenced by any foreign technique. Chronologically, the Pārkham and Besnagar statues would come after the Patna Yakshas. They represent more or less the same archaic style of figural representation of which the earliest examples, although on a much miniature scale, are to be found on the gold leaves from Piprahwa and Lauriya Nandangarh and on certain Mauryan or Pre-Mauryan stone-rings from Taxila, Sankisa and Mathurā.

Sārnāth Stone Receptacle

S. 39.—Behind the Pārkham statue, in a niche in the wall, is kept a square block of sandstone, the upper surface of which is hollowed out in the centre to form a receptacle (2′×2′×1′ 9″). It was found inside the relic chamber of the Dharmarājikā Stūpa of Sārnāth, destroyed in 1794 by Jagat Singh. In the cavity of the stone was deposited a marble box or reliquary containing "a few human bones, some decayed pearls, gold leaf and other jewels of no value." The marble box was subsequently found missing and the stone block alone was removed to Calcutta. As the Stūpa was built by Aśoka the stone must also have been deposited by him.

Besnagar *Kalpadruma*

1795.—Opposite the Rāmpurwā Bull is the *Kalpadruma* (ht. 5′ 6″) or 'the Wish-fulfilling tree' of Indian tradition, which was discovered at Besnagar and presented to the Museum by H. H. the Maharaja Sindhia in 1885 (see *Frontispiece*). It may have been the capital of a pillar and probably belongs to the Śuṅga period (second century B.C.). The sculpture shows the sacred *Ficus Indica* or the Banyan tree, enclosed by a railing at the base and higher up by a bamboo fencing in the shape of a net-work. The long pendant shoots of the tree make a number of compartments, each containing one or the other of the following: a bag (filled with money ?) hanging from a branch, a conch shell, a lotus, and a vase overflowing with coins, either round or square in shape (*kārshāpaṇas*). These are symbolical of wealth and affluence which the *Kalpadruma* is supposed to grant to its worshipper. The 'tree-in-railing' motif frequently occurring on the early Indian coins perhaps represents the same miraculous tree. In India tree-worship goes back to great antiquity. The earliest representation of the *Aśvattha* or the Pipal tree appears on the Indus Valley seals (*circa* 3000 B.C.) where it seems to have a religious significance.

II. REMAINS OF THE BHARHUT STŪPA

INTRODUCTORY

SCULPTURE OF RED STONE

From the Chunār sandstone of Mauryan sculpture we now turn to the red sandstone of Central India used by Śuṅga builders, examples of which are kept in the adjoining Bharhut Room. This stone, quarried from the Vindhyas (Kaimur), ushers in a new epoch in indigenous artistic tradition. Our first acquaintance with the material is made at the entrance to the Bharhut Room, where at each side of the door there is a railing pillar bearing life-size figures executed in bas-relief.

HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

This collection of red stone sculpture comes from Bharhut, a village in the Nāgod State of Central India. It is six miles to the north-east of Unchera near Sutna and can be reached from the small Railway station of Lagargawan between Sutna and Unchera. Here, in 1873, General Cunningham discovered the remains of a Buddhist stūpa which probably had very much the same plan and design as the Great Stūpa of Sāñchī. Although its major part had been already destroyed by the neighbouring villagers quarrying for bricks and stone, Cunningham was able to recover portions of the great Railing and also the Eastern Gateway, which he removed to the Indian Museum[1] in 1875. Some of the stray pieces that still remained at the site were in later years carried to the Residency Garden at Sutna from where they were acquired for the Museum and brought down to Calcutta in 1926.

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[1] Besides those exhibited there are some fragments in the Museum godowns, while a few were distributed to other museums in 1918.

THE STŪPA, ITS RAILING AND GATEWAYS

The Railing (*vedikā*), of which some portions have been re-erected in the Bharhut Room, as they originally stood at the site (Plate III), encompassed the Stūpa in the form of a circle, the intervening space forming a circumambulatory passage (*pradakshiṇa-patha*) having access from each of the cardinal points through a gateway (*toraṇa*). Each of the four gateways was screened by a part of the Railing branching off at right angles, so as to form L-shape. As will be seen, the Railing consists of a series of pillars (*stambha*), rectangular in section, joined together by lenticular cross-bars (*sūchi*) (Plate IV, *a*). The latter are arranged in vertical rows, three in each, mortised into the pillars on either side, and over the pillars are laid huge coping-stones (*ushṇīsha*).[1] The total height of the Railing is about 9 ft. Adjoining the hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) of the Stūpa, and at a higher level than the Railing, there appears to have been a terrace, approached by a stairway, around which the pilgrims could perform their circumambulation (*pradakshiṇa*) for the second time, as at the Great Stūpa of Sāñchī. Over the dome must have stood a small pavilion (*harmikā*), likewise enclosed by a railing, supporting the shaft of the crowning umbrella. The appearance of the Bharhut Stūpa can well be visualized from representations of stūpas in some of the panels on the existing Railing. The Gateways rose high above it, forming magnificent adjuncts to the Stūpa. The Eastern Gateway, the only one that has survived, has a height of 22½ ft. It is composed of two pillars, the shaft of each of which is moulded into four octagonal parts representing a cluster of columns. The shafts bear lotus-shaped bell-capitals, crowned by a set of four animals, two lions and two bulls with human face, seated back to back. The capitals support a superstructure of three curviform architraves with volute ends, and between the architraves are inserted short uprights to keep them in position. The entire conception of the Railing and the Gateways strongly suggests that they must have been copied from wooden prototypes.

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[1] The copings originally terminated in seated lion figures at each entrance, of which 367 is a fragment.

Gateway Inscription of Dhanabhūti

The left pillar of the Gateway bears the following inscription in Brāhmī characters of about the last quarter of the second century B.C. :

> Suganaṁ raje raño Gāgīputasa Visadevasa
> p[o]teṇa Gotiputasa Āgarajusa puteṇa
> Vāchhiputena Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ toraṇaṁ
> silākaṁmaṁto ca upaṁṇa(no)

"During the reign of the Śuṅgas, the gateway has been caused to be made together with the stone carving by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gauptīputra Āgaraju, (and) grandson of King Gārgīputra Viśvadeva."

Other Gateways with similar inscriptions

Similar records were noticed by Cunningham also on two other Gateways of the Stūpa. The Śuṅgas referred to in this inscription formed a dynasty which was founded by the general (*Senāpati*) Pushyamitra, succeeding the Mauryas about 180 B.C. The Gateways, however, appear to have been set up about a century later, towards the close of the Śuṅga period.

Railing Inscriptions

There are also a large number of votive inscriptions engraved on the Railing, recording short titles of the reliefs (*Jātakas*, etc.) carved on it and the names of the individual donors who provided funds for the construction of the different parts. The language of the Gateway and Railing inscriptions is a form of Prākṛit which differs from the Prākṛit of the inscriptions of Aśoka. Palæographically, the Railing inscriptions fall into two groups: the majority belong to a date prior to that of the Gateway inscriptions, while there are a few that appear to be contemporaneous with them.

Dates

The Gateways appear to have been added to the Stūpa at least half a century after the construction of the original Railing, which may be dated about 125 B.C. For the subsequent addition of the Gateways we have a parallel in the Great Stūpa of Sāñchī. The donors of the Stūpa of Bharhut, like those of the Sāñchī Stūpas, include the laity, as well as the monks and nuns forming the Buddhist confederation. The inscriptions very often mention the places of origin of the donors. The localities include Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State), Karahakaṭa (modern Karhād, Dt. Satara), Nāsika (Nāsik), Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam, Dt. Allahabad) and Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna in Bihar), which shows that the Stūpa attracted pilgrims from far and near.

The Bas-reliefs

The Railing and the Gateways were profusely decorated with bas-reliefs, which served a double purpose, namely to beautify the monument and also to inspire a deep religious feeling in the minds of the Buddhist pilgrims. On the Railing hardly any vacant space is left, but quite in contrast with this are the Gateway pillars, the shafts of which are left severely plain, although the portion starting from the capital upward is again richly embellished with reliefs.

Reliefs on Eastern Gateway

The projecting ends of the architraves of the Eastern Gateway show open-mouthed crocodiles (*makaras*) with curled tails (429, Plate VI, *a*), and the square blocks between the volute ends and the curved centre of the architraves are decorated with a stūpa on one side and a shrine on the other. Most attractive are two of the architraves, one representing lions and another elephants (300) approaching the Buddha's throne (Like men, they too must show their reverence !). Between the architraves were alternately inserted small balusters and pillar-statues, their base or capital often bearing a single Kharoshṭhī letter serving as a masons' mark. From the occurrence of the Kharoshṭhī letters it has been inferred that the Gateways were executed by artists originating from the North-West. Crowning the Gateway is an ornament representing the honey-suckle which is surmounted by the *Dharma-chakra* or the Wheel of Law.

Reliefs on Railing

As regards the decoration of the Railing, certain general features may be noticed. The copings bear on the outer face a splendid array of lotuses, often issuing out of the mouth of an elephant. On the inner face, a long undulating creeper divides the space into innumerable compartments, which are usually filled in with figures of lions, elephants and other animals, and strange fabulous creatures having the body of a lion and the head of a man or of a parrot, also bunches of different kinds of fruits, and ornaments like beads, pendants, necklaces, anklets, ear-rings, etc. The upper border of the coping shows a continuous line of stepped merlons resembling an Assyrian pattern,[1] alternating with 'Blue lotuses' in vertical position which are also treated somewhat in the Assyrian style.[2] Along the lower border there runs a long chain of hanging bells. Below the coping the pillars are divided into three sections by half medallions at top and bottom, and full medallions at the middle. Often at the base of these pillars there appear a number of dwarfish and pot-bellied figures represented as sustaining the heavy weight of a structure. There are medallions also on each of the three intervening cross-bars (Plate IV, *a*). The panels on the copings are occasionally devoted to representations of stories from the *Jātakas*, that is the previous lives of the Buddha Gautama, while some of the reliefs on the railing pillars portray not only *Jātaka* scenes but also incidents relating to his last mundane existence. Side by side with these story-telling panels and medallions there occur reliefs that are primarily of an ornamental character. The space on some of the terminal pillars of the Railing is often taken up by square panels depicting *Jātaka* and life scenes on a rather elaborate scale (Plate VIII); but this space is usually reserved for detached life-size figures, which not only break the monotony but also bring into greater cohesion and balance the otherwise disjointed parts of the decorative system (Plate V, *b*).

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[1] Fabri, *Études d'Orientalisme (Mélanges Linossier)*, 1932, tome I, pp. 206 ff.

[2] Cf. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur*, 1925, *e.g.*, Pl. 14.

1. The Decorative Reliefs

Miscellaneous subjects

A large majority of the reliefs are of purely decorative significance, showing a remarkable variety of patterns. As such reliefs are repeated over and over again and occur in great profusion, we shall give here a general account of them, drawing the attention of the visitor to some of the typical examples. Full medallions containing human busts within a border of lotus petals are quite common (cf. Plate V, *a*, *b*); they perhaps represent the contemporary type of the wealthy citizen or member of aristocratic family, as evidenced by the rich attire. These busts however are not all alike; often a variation is produced by means of small expedients, *e.g.*, when a man (120) or a woman (132) carries a lotus or a woman is engaged in toilet, holding a mirror in her hand (114). The full medallions, which show frequently a lotus in the centre, have other ornaments in an outer ring, *e.g.*, winged lions (64), elephants carrying lotuses on their trunks (77), an array of Nāga (serpent) heads (79), and so on. In some medallions a single pattern covers the entire field. This may be a *makara* (84), a honey-suckle (89), a peacock (158, Plate V, *a*), a flowering plant coming out of the mouth (83) or the navel (279) of a squatting person, a blossoming 'Blue lotus' plant emerging from a pot (90), often with birds seated on the seed-capsules (101, Plate V, *b*), and so on. It is often customary to represent the same design on both the faces of a cross-bar, as for instance those bearing the reliefs 83, 101 and 158. Among subjects that appear to be of a purely secular character and yet are not apparently related to any story, mention may be made of a two-storeyed and balustraded residence depicted in 116. The inmates of the house look down from balconies, and a pair of geese and peacocks standing on the walls convey the idea of undisturbed peace prevailing in the household. Similar panels recur in later sculpture and indeed constitute a favourite decoration. Among half medallions we may notice 92 and 98. The former shows a winged bull with a crocodile's tail and in an upper panel two pairs of horned sheep, each pair seated back to back. The latter relief has a pair of horned deer similarly placed. Of common occurrence are the medallions exhibiting the fabulous animal known as *makara* (an adaptation of the Indian crocodile), often showing the body of the fish (*e.g.*, 80) and the crocodile and the bull (*e.g.*, 92). Then there are other composite types, a curious blend of the lion, the bull, the horse and the bird. Occasionally, human heads are engrafted (345, 354) on such animal bodies, and also wings are added to them, as in 374. These fantastic creations can be traced in the Prehistoric art of the Indus Valley, but may more directly be attributed to a contact with western countries in the period immediately preceding the Christian era. The occurrence of the human-headed bull and winged lion (*e.g.*, 64) points to Western Asia as the source of this influence, since both of them appear on the monuments of the Achæmenian times in Persia. It is difficult to determine if these foreign elements, to which we should add the merlon, the honey-suckle and the line of erect Blue lotuses entered the domain of Indian art during this period, or later in the time of the Mauryas. On a Mauryan or Pre-Mauryan stone-ring from Mathurā (8624 in the Indian

Contact with Western Asia

Museum), the two-humped 'Bactrian' camel occurs side by side with the winged lion, the honey-suckle, the Fertility or Mother Goddess and the geese. This shows how Indian artists could, if they liked, definitely borrow a motif of purely Bactrian origin.[1] It is very likely that the borrowing of these motifs took place in the pre-Asokan period.

RELIGIOUS AND QUASI-RELIGIOUS PATTERNS

Some of the patterns occurring in these reliefs are of a religious, or quasi-religious, significance, *e.g.*, 'the vase of plenty' or 'the auspicious pot' (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa* or *maṅgala-ghaṭa*), a device that occurs also on early Indian coins, and patterns of which the lotus forms the chief component. The lotus, including 'the Blue lotus', is ubiquitous at Bharhut, appearing in a variety of forms and combinations, and is executed with singular artistic effect. In some of the reliefs the religious element is so interwoven with the decorative that it is impossible to distinguish the one from the other, or view the two elements separately: for instance, the full medallions consisting of four *Triratna* symbols with lotus buds in the intervening spaces (48, Plate VI, *c*), and those having a lotus in the centre with a border of *Triratna* and flower motifs alternating (139, 303). There are again panels and medallions of a purely religious character. Medallion 170 shows a stūpa between two standing devotees, and panel 283 represents a temple with three arched doors and vaulted roof. In the temple compound are a column with elephant capital, a number of trees and also worshippers standing with folded hands. The other face of this panel (247) shows probably the Buddha's promenade between a range of pillars. Relief 304, which is a full medallion, depicts a shrine with vaulted roof supported on a number of pillars and having two arched doors, at each of which is a seated devotee dressed in rich attire. A pair of birds is perched on the roof of the shrine and there are two palm trees in front. Lastly, we come to 305 which shows a *Dharmachakra* on pillar with a circle of worshippers around. These reliefs, which do not seem to be connected with any special scenes relating to the Buddha's Religion, serve the decorative purpose admirably in an edifice of this nature. There now remain to be considered a few accessory figures occurring around the medallions. The half and full medallions are balanced respectively by two and four stems of flowers or fruits, each emerging or hanging down from the side of a medallion. The flower stems often carry not only figures of animals and birds, but also, what is of much greater interest, figures of man and woman in different poses. The woman is often in the act of bending the twig of a blossoming *Śāla* tree. Often she lifts her hand in order to pluck a mango fruit or a flower hanging over head, and at times she carries also a flower;[1] while elsewhere both

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[1] This indirectly lends support to Sir John Marshall's theory that Asokan art was influenced by the Bactrian School. *See* above p. 2.

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[1] The poses are evidently taken by the artists from the games (*krīḍā*) known as *Śālabhañjikā* ('breaking the branch of a Śāla tree'), *Śahakārabhañjikā* ('plucking mango fruits'), *Pushpāvachāyikā* ('plucking flowers'), *Uddālaka-pushpabhañjikā* ('plucking Uddālaka flowers'), etc. For some of the games see *Kāmasūtra*, Benares, 1929, pp. 48-49. Māyādevī, the Buddha's mother, went to Lumbinī to take part in the Śālabhañjikā play (*Mahāvastu*, II, 18, 19) and was delivered of the child as she was holding on to the branch of a *Śāla* tree.

FERTILITY OR MOTHER GODDESS

the male and the female stand with folded hands in adoration. In rare instances, as in 87, each one of the couple stands on the head of a serpent instead of the innocent flowers. There are again reliefs that represent (*e.g.*, 73, Plate VI, *c*) the female as touching her breast. Evidently the same person appears on a larger scale in some of the full medallions. There she is either standing, or seated, on a lotus, the stem of the plant issuing out of a vase (Plate VI, *b*). A lotus springs from the stem on either side of the figure and an elephant resting on each lotus pours water on her head from a jar held by the trunk. This figure has close resemblance to one that appears on some of the coins of Azilises, a Scytho-Parthian ruler of the Punjab of the first century B.C. There is no doubt that it represents a divinity, either the precursor of the Fortune Goddess (*Lakshmī*), or a survival of the Fertility or Mother Goddess of earlier traditions.[1] In medallions 177 and 208 she touches her breast, as does the figure in 73 just mentioned.[2] In 113 (Plate IV, *a*) she is seated on a lotus with her hands folded in adoration. Many of the figures surmounting the flower-stems attached to the medallions are in a similar attitude. We should probably recognize in them non-Buddhistic folk-deities (tree-spirits, etc.) like the large relievo-figures on the railing pillars, and although they are meant merely to be part and parcel of the general decorative scheme, they serve the religious purpose as well, proclaiming in an eloquent manner the supremacy of the Buddha's faith over all other faiths of the age.

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[1] Coomaraswamy, 'Archaic Indian Terracottas'—*Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst*, 1928, p. 72. Reference to the lotus-seated goddess Śrī (Lakshmī) occurs in the Ṛigvedic *Śrī-sūkta*—Coomaraswamy, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1935, p. 358. Foucher (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 46) identifies the figure with Māyā, the Buddha's mother, and interprets the reliefs as representing the First Bath of the new-born Bodhisattva. But this view cannot be accepted. The Buddha's mother was never given a place in the pantheon. Moreover, to assume that the bathing of the lady is the same as the bathing of the Bodhisattva appears to be too far-fetched. The same figure occurs again in Jaina Art, in the Ananta Cave at Udayagiri (*see* below p. 82). We should take the lotus as a purely artistic motif and not attempt to explain it as a symbol of Nativity wherever it occurs, as Foucher has done.

[2] Cf. De Morgan, *Prehistoric Man*, p. 250.

2. The Life-size Figures

Divine and Semi-divine Beings

We shall now examine the life-size figures appearing on the terminus and corner pillars of the Bharhut Railing. The majority of the figures are those of divine or semi-divine beings in a worshipping attitude. They include the Yakshas, Yakshīs and Nāgas, members of the prevailing folk-cult, whom the artist has requisitioned, along with princes and ordinary individuals, to pay homage to the Buddha. Fortunately, most of these beings can be recognized from the contemporary Brāhmī labels appearing on the Railing. Thus we have the Yakshas, Gaṅgita (199), Sūchiloma (144), Virūḍhaka (197), Kubera (105), Ajakālaka (214) and Supāvasa (76), and the Nāga King Chakravāka (195). Chakravāka, whose turban is surmounted by a five-headed cobra, and Virūḍhaka, are hill-deities, as they are made to stand on rocks. The male figure dressed like a warrior may be the Sun-god or an Asura (11). The female figures include the *devatās* Chulakokā (62) and Sirimā (141), and the Yakshīs Chandrā (106) and Sudarśanā (43). Chandrā and Chulakokā bend by their right hand one of the boughs of a tree, evidently to break it (as in the *Śālabhañjikā* play), and their left arm is thrown around the trunk and left leg around the stem. Each takes her stand on the back of an animal, probably to reach the branch of the tree. There are several other life-size female figures whose names are not inscribed, for instance the lady holding a bunch of lotuses, at the entrance to the Bharhut Room (9) and another who plays on a seven-stringed harp, standing on lotus (243). A female deity, who is similar to Chandrā and Chulakokā in pose and attitude, appears in relief 30 which does not bear any label. Another lady (306), who likewise remains unrecognized, holds a mirror and is engaged in arranging her head-dress. One of the Bharhut pieces (436) displayed in the Western Corridor of the Ground Floor is the lower portion of a corner pillar showing the feet of a male resting on three lions seated back to back. The extremely crude treatment of the animals, a degenerate copy of Asokan capitals, is specially to be noted. These divinities of Bharhut are lacking in individuality and not distinguishable by any special insignia, although some of their carriers (*vāhana*) and seats, such as the elephant of Gaṅgita, Supāvasa and Chulakokā, the *makara* of Chandrā and Sudarśanā, the curious monster with pisciform body of Ajakālaka, the man of Kubera and lastly, the lotus of the Mother Goddess and also of the harpist figure, who may be the precursor of the goddess Sarasvatī, seem to mark the beginning of an attempt in that direction. Here, the members of the orthodox Brahmanical pantheon are not altogether omitted, but the Yakshas, Yakshīs and the Nāgas have taken almost the entire field. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that Buddhism had its appeal more specially directed to the general masses accustomed to the worship of these deities, than to the upper strata of society.

An account of the individual pillars showing the life-size figures of divine and semi-divine beings is given below.

UNIDENTIFIED FIGURES

2 and 4 (*Entrance Hall*).—Corner pillar with figures on two faces. 2 : Male figure standing on a human-headed *makara*. 4 : A female riding on a horse fully caparisoned, holding *Garuḍa-dhvaja* or the Garuḍa standard. The horse's feet rest on a railing carved on the base of the pillar.

7 and 9 (*Entrance Hall*).—Corner pillar with figures on two faces. 7 : Male figure standing on a flower. 9 : A female standing on a similar flower. In her left hand is a bunch of lotuses and her right hand is placed horizontally above the navel. Votive inscription : *Sonāya dānaṁ thabho*, *i.e.*, 'the pillar-gift of Sonā.'

YAKSHĪ SUDARŚANĀ

43.—Rail pillar with a female figure standing on *makara*. Label : *Yakhini Sudasana*. Votive inscription : *Bhadata-Kanakasa bhanakasa thabho dānaṁ Chikulaniyasa, i.e.*, 'the pillar-gift of the Reverend Kanaka, a Reciter, of Chikulana.' (Plate VII, *b*).

A WARRIOR-GOD

11.—Rail pillar showing the figure of a male dressed like a warrior. (Plate VII, *a*). He wears shoes and has a sword hanging from his left side. He carries in his right hand a vine leaf with a bunch of flowers or grapes. The vine leaf, and also probably his dress and appearance, are suggestive of his North-Western domicile. But a mere soldier would hardly have been given the place of honour and prominence reserved usually for divinities. According to Chanda he may be the Asura king Vepachitti about whom there is an account in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, while Barua takes him to be the Sun-god, considering that he is the only Indian deity to wear shoes. The Nikāya describes Vepachitti also as wearing shoes and having a sword hanging at his side. Votive inscription: *Bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dānaṁ, i.e.*, 'the pillar-gift of the Reverend Mahila.'

Goddess Chulakokā

62.—Rail pillar. Female figure holding the bough of a tree with one hand, standing on an elephant (Plate VI, *c*). Label: *Chulakokā devata.* Votive inscription: *Aya-Paṁthakasa thaṁbho dānaṁ, i.e.*, 'the pillar-gift of the noble teacher (*Ārya*) Panthaka.'

30.—Rail pillar. Female figure standing under a tree in the same pose and attitude as in 62 above. Her feet rest on a fully caparisoned horse. Votive inscription: *Bhadaṁta-Valakasa bhanakasa dānaṁ thabho, i.e.*, 'the pillar-gift of the Reverend Balaka, a Reciter.'

Yaksha Supāvasa and an *Apsaras*

76 and 243.—Rail pillar with sculpture on two faces. 76: A male figure with folded hands standing on an elephant (Plate VII, c). Label: *Supāvaso Yakho.* 243: A female figure, an *Apsaras*, stands on a lotus, playing on a stringed instrument (*vīṇā*). This figure bears no label. Votive inscription: *Dhamagutasa dānaṁ thabho*, 'the pillar-gift of Dharmagupta.'

Yakshas Ajakālaka, Kubera and Yakshī Chandrā

214, 105 and 106.—Entrance pillar of rail with carvings on three faces (Plate V, *b*). 214: A male figure standing on a *makara* whose upper half is that of a man. Label: *Ajakālako Yakho.* 105: Male figure with folded hands, standing on a squatting human figure. Label: *Kupiro* (*i.e.*, Kubera) *Yakho*. 106: Female figure holding the bough of a tree by one hand, standing on a horse-headed *makara*; in the other hand she is carrying a bunch of flowers. Label: *Chadā Yakhi*. The pillar bears the following votive inscription (104):

1 *Bhadata-Budharakhitasa Saṭupadāna-*
2 *sa dānaṁ thabho*

"The pillar-gift of Buddharakshita, of Saṭupadāna (?)."

NĀGA KING CHAKRAVĀKA, YAKSHAS GAṄGITA AND VIRŪḌHAKA

195, 197 and 199.—Entrance pillar of rail with sculpture on three faces. 195: Nāga figure with a hood of five serpent-heads standing on rocks in jungle, with hands folded in adoration. Label: *Chakavāko Nāgarājā*. Votive inscription: *Dhamarakhitasa dānaṁ*, *i.e.*, 'the gift of Dharmarakshita.' 197: Figure of Virūḍhaka standing with folded hands, on rocks in jungle. He is the guardian of the Southern Quarter. Label: *Viruḍako Yakho*. 199: Figure of Gaṅgita standing on elephant, with hands folded in adoration. Label: *Gaṁgito Yakho*.

GODDES SIRIMĀ AND YAKSHA SŪCHILOMA

141 and 144.—Rail pillar with sculpture on two faces. 141: A female figure (Plate VII, *d*) standing (on railing). Label: *Sirimā devata*. 144: A standing male figure with folded hands (on railing). Label: *Suchilomo Yakho*. A votive inscription, which is mutilated, says that the pillar was the gift of a nun.

UNIDENTIFIED FIGURES

306 and 307.—Rail pillar with sculpture on two faces. 306: A female standing on a *makara* with human head and manes of a lion. She holds a mirror in her left hand, and with her right hand she is arranging her head-dress. 307 : A male figure standing on rocks, with folded hands (upper portion extremely damaged).

MALE TORSO

310.—Part of a rail pillar showing the torso of a male figure. Votive inscription : *Bhojakaṭakāya Diganagaya bhichhuniya dānaṁ, i.e.,* 'the gift of the nun Diṅnāgā, an inhabitant of Bhojakaṭa.'

FIGURE ON LIONS

436 (*Western Corridor*).—Rail pillar. Lower portion of a male figure standing on three lions seated back to back.

A ROYAL DEVOTEE

108.—A group of figures that does not come under the category of divinities appears in 108 and 111 of a terminus pillar (Plate IV, *b*). The principal one of the group is evidently a royal personage (108) mounted on elephant. He is carrying a relic-casket in procession, probably for depositing the same in a stūpa. He is flanked on each side by an attendant, also on elephant, and is followed by a horseman holding aloft a Garuḍa standard (111). A similar standard appears also in the hand of a woman on horse-back carved on a pillar at the entrance to the Bharhut Room (4). An inscription (*Vedisā Chāpadevāyā Revatimita-bhāriyāya paṭhama-thabho dānaṁ*) engraved above the royal figure describes the pillar as 'the first' in the series, being the gift of Chāpadevī, the wife of Revatīmitra of Vidiśā, modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State. Revatīmitra perhaps belonged to the ruling family of Vidiśā, which, from the Garuḍa emblem, appears to have been devoted to Vaishnavism. A Garuḍa pillar was erected in this city in the second century B.C. by the Greek ambassador Heliodoros who was a Vaishṇava devotee. It shows that Vidiśā must have been an important centre of this cult. It is possible, however, that the royal family of Vidiśā, although Vaishnavite, took an important part in the establishment of the Buddhist stūpa of Bharhut, as suggested by the relic-casket carried on elephant. The feet of the three elephants rest on a railing which is borne on shoulder by a number of pot-bellied, stumpy figures, being the Central Indian counterpart of the Atlantes of Gandhāra.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The numerous figures of men and women that have just passed before us afford a clear idea of the contemporary dress and ornaments. Both males and females wear a loin-cloth tied by a belt, below the navel as in many parts of India to-day, and the end folds of the garment are seen hanging in front. The upper part of the body has a scarf in the case of males, but except for the ornaments, the females have no covering above the waist. The males wear a turban and the females, a veil which does not, however, hide the face. A *Vidyādhara* fastening his turban is seen in relief 269. A detailed view of the head-dress is obtained from some of the medallions. One of them shows a woman holding a mirror, in the act of toilet. The turban and the veil were very often richly embroidered. As regards ornaments there is a remarkable profusion. Those common to both the sexes are ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets and embroidered belts; while the ornaments for the forehead, long collars, girdles and anklets are peculiar to the females. In this connection special attention may be drawn to the rich variety of ornaments in the representations on the copings of the Railing. It is interesting to note that the *Triratna* symbol is also made into an ornament which is worn in necklaces, *e.g.*, in the figure of Sirimā (141) and in several panels of the coping (*e.g.*, 318, 332, 338 and 346).

3. The Jātaka Representations

Gautama in previous births

We shall now turn to the representations of Jātaka stories at Bharhut. The Bodhisattva is supposed to have passed through all forms of existence, animal and human, before he was reborn as Gautama. In the various episodes relating to his pre-births (*Jātakas*), whether as a man or as a lower animal, he appears always as a benevolent leader devoted to the welfare of his fellow creatures and superior to everybody else in talent and wisdom. A brief summary of some of the typical Jātaka scenes appearing on the Bharhut Railing is given below. The clue to most of the identifications is provided by the Brāhmī 'labels' inscribed on the individual panels, although it has also been possible to identify several reliefs even without these descriptive labels, inasmuch as they tally with certain Jātakas in the principal details. Among the identified stories, there are often found elements that differ from the extant Pāli Jātakas, and it is extremely probable that the Bharhut artists followed a version somewhat different from the one that has been handed down to us. The extremely abbreviated and condensed form of narration, generally adopted in these reliefs, indicates that the artists, here as elsewhere, took for granted a previous acquaintance with the Jātaka stories on the part of the pilgrims. Indeed, the space available for the artist in each individual panel is so circumscribed that in many of them the treatment has taken a symbolical rather than narrative character.

Laṭukika-Jātaka

253.—Jātaka No. 357: The Bodhisattva born as an elephant became the leader of a herd and showed compassion to a quail which was afraid of her young ones being trampled to death. But a roguish elephant crushed the young birds and was himself killed through the machinations of the quail's friends, a crow, a fly and a frog. The quail induced the crow to pick out the eyes of the elephant and the fly to drop eggs in the sockets; and misled by the croaking of the frog the blind elephant went up the precipice of a mountain from where he slipped down and died. The relief shows the elephant ascending the precipice and also falling down.

Label: *Laṭuvā-jātaka*, 'the Episode of the Laṭuvā quail.'

Sujāta-Jātaka

327.—Jātaka No. 352: The Bodhisattva born as Sujāta offered grass and water to a dead ox in order to demonstrate how utterly useless it was for Sujāta's father to bemoan the death of his own sire.

Label: *Sujato ga-huto jataka*, 'the Episode of Sujāta, the Cow-feeder.'

Kukkuṭa-Jātaka

329.—Jātaka No. 383: The Bodhisattva as a cock lived in the forest with his kith and kin. A she-cat was continuously deceiving the cocks with her sweet words and devouring them one by one; but the Bodhisattva saw through her tricks and resisted her seductive attempts when she approached him. The cock is here seen perched on a tree and the cat seated below, entreating him to come down.

Label: *Biḍāla-jātaka Kukuṭa-jātaka*, 'the Episodes of the Cat and the Cock.'

NIGRODHAMIGA-JĀTAKA

337.—Jātaka No. 12: The Bodhisattva born as the golden Banyan Deer was entrapped with his herd in the royal park, but he himself was granted immunity. The king who was passionately fond of hunting would either go himself or send his cook to the park to shoot the deer at random, creating great panic in the herd. At length the members of the herd decided to cast lots and daily send a victim to the execution block. Once the lot fell on a pregnant doe, but instead of sending her the Bodhisattva offered himself as a substitute. The king came to the place of execution and was so much moved that he spared not only the life of the Banyan Deer but also that of the entire herd. In the relief we see the executioner standing with his axe, a tree denoting the park and the Banyan Deer.

Label: *Isimigo jataka*, 'the Episode of the sage-like Deer.'

MIGA-POTAKA-JĀTAKA

343.—Jātaka No. 372: Born as Śakra the Bodhisattva admonished an ascetic for lamenting over the death of a young deer whom he had reared in his own hermitage.

MAKHĀDEVA-JĀTAKA

356.—Jātaka No. 9: As King Makhādeva (or Maghādeva) the Bodhisattva was shown by his barber a grey hair on his head, which made him renounce the world. The king is here seen seated on a chair and the barber is shown twice, first as leaning over him and then as standing with folded hands.

Label: *Maghādeviya-jataka*, 'the Episode of Maghādeva.'

BHISA-JĀTAKA

362.—Jātaka No. 488: The Bodhisattva born as the son of a rich Brāhmaṇa distributed all his paternal wealth and accompanied by his brothers, sister, two servants and a companion retired to the Himālayas, living in a hermitage near a lake. In order to test the virtue of the Bodhisattva the god Śakra habitually stole his share of lotus-fibres which the ascetics had been collecting by turn for his meal. When this was detected there started a quarrel amongst his companions, each of them vehemently declaring on oath that he had not stolen the lotus-fibres. The oaths were taken in the presence of an elephant and a monkey who were also in that hermitage. But the Bodhisattva himself remained unperturbed and did not accuse any body. In the end Śakra appeared in their midst, admitted his own guilt and asked the Bodhisattva to forgive him, which the latter did. In the relief, the god Śakra has produced a bundle of lotus-fibres before the Bodhisattva. In the background are seen Bodhisattva's sister, the elephant, the monkey and the hermitage.

Label: *Bhisaharaniya-jataka*, 'the Episode of lotus-fibre-stealing.'

STORY OF VAḌIKA

364.—In the *Vaḍika-vastu* of the *Avadānaśataka* there occurs the following story: the Bodhisattva born as Vaḍika, son of a banker, was a long sufferer from skin disease. A compassionate Buddha took pity on him and deputed Śakra to fetch a medicinal balm from the Gandhamādana mountain. This was extracted from a plant growing there and handed over to Vaḍika. The relief probably illustrates this story, although there are several points of divergence. Vaḍika is here seen as extracting the juice himself in a pot from a bark-like thing suspended from a tree.

Label: *Vaḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate*, 'Vaḍuka extracts juice on Mount Naḍoda.'

Part of same

366.—The same story is probably continued in 366 which also refers to Mount Naḍoda. It is labelled as *Jabū Naḍode pavate, i.e.,* 'the Jambu tree on Mount Naḍoda.' The person seated on a stool seems to be the one appearing in 364. An unseen spirit from the Jambu tree extends his two hands before Vaḍuka, one holding a flat vessel and the other a water-pot.[1] Vaḍuka is evidently washing his hand to receive the gift.

Asadisa-Jātaka

376.—Jātaka No. 181: As Prince Asadisa the Bodhisattva abandoned the throne in favour of his youngest brother. But the latter was always conspiring against him. To escape from his intrigues the Bodhisattva ultimately fled into another kingdom and lived there in exile as an archer. Later on he protected his brother from the enemies who had besieged his city. Asadisa with his bow and arrow appears in the scene.

Chammasāṭaka-Jātaka

379 and 381.—Jātaka No. 324: A foolish mendicant mistook the butting of a ram for a respectful bow. Heedless of the timely warning of the Bodhisattva, he was struck by the ram coming upon him at full speed, and met with his death. In the first part of the relief the mendicant appears as carrying something on a pole and the ram gets ready to attack him. In the second part, the mendicant is completely prostrated.

Maṇikaṇṭha-Jātaka

383.—Jātaka No. 253: The Bodhisattva born as a rich Brāhmaṇa's son turned an anchorite along with his brother, after their father's death, and dwelt in leaf huts on the bank of the Ganges. A serpent-king Maṇikaṇṭha, the possessor of a beautiful jewel, was so much enamoured of him that he used to visit the anchorite daily and even would remain coiling round his body till his affection was satisfied. The anchorite in fear of his serpent friend began to lose health. In order to get rid of him, the anchorite at the suggestion of his brother demanded the jewel from the serpent king when he next came to the hermitage. This demand was pressed every day and at last the serpent turned away, saying that his friend was asking for too much. In the relief we see the serpent visitor and the anchorite. The rectangular piece appearing on the serpent's body is the jewel.

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[1] A similar relief occurs on the Buddha-Gayā railing. Coomaraswamy, *Ars Asiatica,* XVIII, p. 29, fig. 11.

Mahājanaka-Jātaka

391.—Jātaka No. 395: As King Mahājanaka the Bodhisattva renounced the world and became an ascetic, but he was followed by his wife Sivālī who tried to dissuade him from the course. On the way he met an arrow-maker who was examining an arrow with one eye, to see if it was straight, from which the king drew the lesson that he had better henceforth live alone and not with his wife.

Label: *Usukāro Janako rāja Sivala devi,* 'the Arrow-maker, King Janaka (and) Queen Sivalā.'

Ārāmadūsaka-Jātaka

404.—Jātaka Nos. 46 and 268: A gardener wanted to enjoy himself in the town on a holiday and employed the monkeys living in his garden to water the plants in his absence. The monkeys pulled up the plants in order to judge from the size of the roots the quantity of water they required, and were rebuked by the Bodhisattva who happened to be passing that way.

Kapota-Jātaka

406.—Jātaka No. 42: In the form of a pigeon the Bodhisattva reprimanded a greedy crow who was punished by the cook of a high official for having entered the kitchen to eat his master's dinner.

Dabbhapuppha-Jātaka

412.—Jātaka No. 400: Born as a tree-spirit by a river bank the Bodhisattva saw two otters, who had caught a fish, quarrelling over the share of the booty and being cheated by a jackal whom they had engaged as an arbitrator. The jackal is here seen running away with a big slice of the fish himself.

Label: *Uda-jataka,* 'the Otter Episode.'

Dubhiya-Makkaṭa-Jātaka

418.—Jātaka No. 174: As a young Brāhmaṇa the Bodhisattva drew water for a thirsty monkey who however made grimaces at the Brāhmaṇa in return for the act of charity, as soon as he had finished drinking. The Bodhisattva is here seen offering water to the monkey who is next perched on a tree and has started making grimaces at him.

Label: *Sechha-jataka, i.e.,* 'the Water-drawing Episode.'

Vessantara-Jātaka

422.—Jātaka No. 547: Prince Vessantara was very much given to charity. Taking advantage of his philanthropic nature the King of the Kaliṅga country, which was suffering from drought, sent some Brāhmaṇas to Vessantara to beg for his favourite elephant, as the animal was supposed to have the power of inducing rain. The prayer was duly granted and Vessantara made a gift of his elephant. In the relief, the prince is seen as having descended from the elephant and offering it to a Brāhmaṇa after pouring water into his hands from a vessel with due ceremony.

Kinnara-Jātaka

424.—This relief shows a prince seated on a throne listening to two persons, one of whom is a lady. It is labelled *Kinara-jātaka.* The Kinnaras are a class of fairies or composite beings, but what part they play in this scene is not clear. It has not yet been correctly identified.

Mahākapi-Jātaka

35.—Jātaka No. 407 : (Plate X, *a*).[1] The Bodhisattva born as a leader of monkeys lived on the bank of the Ganges in the Himalayas by the side of a mango tree which bore delicious fruits. The King of Benares coming to know of its existence from his 'Wood-rangers' arrived at the place with his retinue. They surrounded the tree and were about to shoot down the monkeys as they were eating up the mangoes. The Bodhisattva leapt over to the other side of the river and quickly prepared a sort of bamboo bridge. The bridge being a little too short, he supported the same by tying it to his own body, and the monkeys passed off safely, treading on the back of their leader. The king, amazed at the vigour, spirit of self-sacrifice and intelligence of the Great Monkey, honoured him by offering him a higher seat next to his own.

Kakkaṭa-Jātaka

289.—Jātaka No. 267 : Born as an elephant the Bodhisattva crushed a giant crab which used to hide itself in a lake, catch the elephants as they would descend into the lake for bath and devour them.

Label: *Nāga-jātaka*, 'the Elephant Episode.'

Mūga-pakkha-Jātaka

290.—Jātaka No. 538 : Born as Temiya, the son of a King of Benares, the Bodhisattva took a vow of austerity and pretended to be deaf, dumb and cripple, and all attempts to test his sensibility failed. At last, after sixteen years, the king decided to get rid of him and asked his charioteer to remove the prince in a chariot to a place outside the town and bury him there alive. The charioteer carried him away and was digging a pit for the burial. At that very moment Temiya's vow of silence ended, and he opened his mouth and began to talk to the charioteer. Eventually Temiya turned an ascetic. The relief shows the child in the lap of the king, also the chariot, and the charioteer digging with a spade. The Bodhisattva appears first as standing behind the digger, then with folded hands, and finally as an ascetic in the forest.

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[1] *Cf.* another illustration of this story at Sāñchī (S. 2, below p. 60).

Label: *Mugaphakiya-jātaka*, 'the Episode of the Dumb Being.'

VIDHURAPAṆḌITA-JĀTAKA

260, 259, 258 and 257.—Jātaka No. 545: The fame of the wisdom and eloquence of the Bodhisattva, born as Vidhura-paṇḍita, roused the curiosity of Vimalā, the wife of the Nāga king Varuṇa, and she felt a keen desire to hear his discourse on the Law. But fearing lest the king might not grant her request, she feigned illness and asked him to bring the heart of Vidhura in order to effect her cure. Irandatī, the daughter of the Nāga king, induced her fiancé Yaksha Pūrṇaka to take up the mission, to which the king also gave his assent (260). Pūrṇaka caught hold of Vidhura, carried him off, tied to a horse's tail, and tried to dash him to death from a mountain precipice (259), so that Vidhura's heart could be procured; but in this he failed utterly due to Vidhura's merit. The Yaksha then brought him alive to the Nāga queen (258), as she had desired. Pūrṇaka ultimately married Irandatī and took her away to dwell with him in his mountain abode (257). The scene is divided into four panels, arranged vertically on a pillar.

Label: *Vitura-Punakiya-jatakaṁ*, 'the Episode of Vidura and Pūrṇaka.'

CHHADDANTA-JĀTAKA

291.—Jātaka No. 514: (Plate IX, *a*). The Bodhisattva born as a royal elephant with six tusks had two wives, one of whom conceived a grudge against him for not being presented with flowers which the other had providentially received. After her death she was reborn as the favourite queen of the King of Benares, and during a feigned illness she declared that the possession of the tusks of the royal elephant could alone cure her. Eventually the elephant had to be killed, and the tusks secured and brought before her. But she was so much overtaken with grief and remorse at the sight of the tusks that she died of a broken heart.

Label: *Chhadaṁtiya-jātakaṁ*, 'the Episode of the Six-tusked (elephant).'

ALAMBUSĀ-JĀTAKA

225.—Jātaka No. 523: A doe conceived coming in contact with an ascetic (the Bodhisattva), through his excreta, and gave birth to a male child named Isisiṅga. The relief shows the ascetic picking up the new-born child.

Label: *Isisiṁgiya-jātaka*, 'the Episode of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga.

MAHĀ-UMMAGGA-JĀTAKA

202.—Jātaka No. 546: The Bodhisattva was born as Mahosadha, son of a merchant, in the suburbs of Mithilā called Yavamajjhaka. The King of Mithilā having heard of his extraordinary wisdom invited Mahosadha to the capital where he lived as one of the king's entourage. Gradually the king's four ministers grew jealous of Mahosadha and devised a plan for his ruin. They stole four precious things of the king, concealed them in Mahosadha's house and informed the king; but Mahosadha having received timely warning managed to escape from his house in disguise. Meanwhile, the ministers attempted to win over Amarā, the beautiful wife of Mahosadha and approached her individually. She, however, cleverly managed to entrap all of them, putting each in a separate basket. Later, she produced the baskets at the king's court and proved their guilt. The relief shows the baskets being uncovered by a man and Amarā pointing at the discomfited persons.

Label: *Yavamajhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ*, 'the Episode of Yavamadhyaka.'

MAHĀKAPI-JĀTAKA II

317.—Jātaka No. 516: A husbandman in search of his strayed oxen lost himself in a forest and entered the Himālayan region. For seven days he roamed about in search of the way out of the forest, and at last stricken with hunger he climbed up a tree to eat fruits, but slipping off from the tree fell into a deep pit. Fortunately for him he was lifted up by a monkey who was no other than the Bodhisattva. Later, due to exhaustion the monkey fell asleep and the man finding him in that condition hit him on the head with a stone. In spite of this act of cruelty and ungratefulness the monkey showed him the way of exit and then disappeared in the forest. The relief shows the husbandman being rescued on the back of the monkey and then as hurling a stone at him.

MAHĀBODHI-JĀTAKA

319.—Jātaka No. 528: The Bodhisattva born as the son of a Brāhmaṇa named Bodhi embraced the life of a wandering mendicant. In the course of his journeys he came to Benares and took up his abode there. The King of Benares showed him much honour and gradually reposed confidence in him. This excited the jealousy of the king's councillors who laid a plot to murder him, but it was exposed by the barking of a hound. In the relief are seen the mendicant carrying an umbrella in his right hand and a staff over his left shoulder to which some articles are tied, and also the hound.

Ruru-Jātaka

129.—Jātaka No. 482: The Bodhisattva born as the Golden Stag, leader of a herd of deer, saved the life of a young merchant who was going to drown himself in the Ganges, by dragging him to the river bank. But the merchant treacherously divulged the existence of the herd to the King of Benares who came to the forest and was about to shoot the distracted herd, when the Bodhisattva approached him and preached religion and piety. Forthwith the bow fell from the latter's hands out of awe and reverence. The two-horned deer in the relief is the Bodhisattva. He is seen as bringing to the bank the merchant on his back. The person pointing to the stag with his finger is also the same and the one shooting at the deer is the king. The king is figured once again, listening to the Bodhisattva with folded hands (Plate V, *a*).

Label: *Miga-jātakaṁ*, 'the Deer Episode.'

4. Scenes from the Life of Gautama or the Buddha Śākyamuni

Fewer Life Scenes

At Bharhut the scenes connected with the Buddha's life are much fewer than the Jātaka scenes. Here we shall mention only those that have been identified beyond doubt. It is significant—and this is a very important point for the history of Buddhist art—that although the figure of the Bodhisattva, as he was in his previous births, appears on the Bharhut Railing, that of Gautama himself, either as the Bodhisattva or as the Buddha, is totally absent. His existence is indicated, however, by particular symbols, *e.g.*, the Wheel, the *Triratna*, the throne, the Bodhi tree, the stūpa and the footprints. It was perhaps not considered proper by the earlier Schools of Buddhism to conceive of one who has attained, or is destined to attain, Enlightenment, in terms of form and shape, and thus bring him under human limitations. Consequently, figural representations of the Buddha do not appear anywhere in Indian art prior to the first century B.C.

ABSENCE OF THE BUDDHA FIGURE

93.—The Dream (*i.e.* Conception) of Queen Māyā. (Plate IX, *b*). It illustrates the descent of the *Bhagavat*, *i.e.* the divine Bodhisattva Śākyamuni, from Tushita heaven, in the shape of a white elephant, into the womb of Māyā—a phenomenon she saw in a dream. The relief shows the queen sleeping on a couch, also her attendants, a lamp burning near her feet, and the divine elephant approaching her from above.

THE DREAM

Label: *Bhagavato ūkraṁti*, *i.e.* 'the Descent of the Lord.'

264.—It shows King Prasenajit of Kosala coming out in procession to visit the Buddha and listen to his preaching (Plate VIII, *a*). The presence of the Teacher is indicated by a large Wheel. Mark the chariot of the king drawn by four horses.

VISIT OF PRASENAJIT

10534
स्व० ढिल्ली रमण देवी
कल्याणी देवी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय

Labels: *Bhagavato dhamachakaṁ*, *i.e.* 'the Wheel of Law of the Lord.'

Rājā Pasenaji Kosalo, *i.e.* 'King Prasenajit of Kosala.'

WORSHIP BY ERĀPATA

265.—This panel, appearing below 264, shows the Buddha's throne under the Bodhi tree and the Nāga king Erāpata paying homage. The latter appears first in his serpent form and next in the shape of a human being with snake-hood. Erāpata seems to have come out of a river, the zigzag course of which is clearly indicated in the relief. The Nāga king's family can be recognized from their snake-hoods. (Plate VIII, *a*).

Label: *Erapato Nāgarājā Bhagavato vadate*, *i.e.* 'the Nāga king Erāpata worships the Lord.'

ENLIGHTENMENT

270-273.—These depict the Enlightenment of Śākyamuni at Buddha-Gayā and connected incidents, delineated in vertically arranged panels. (Plate VIII, *b*). 270: A throne surmounted by two *Triratna* symbols is placed under the Bodhi tree (*Aśvattha*), attended by worshippers; above, two gods are seen whistling with joy and waving their upper garment. The Bodhi tree seems to stand in the courtyard of a circular two-storeyed edifice supported by columns. The column, which shows an elephant-capital, is probably a free-standing one, not intended to support any superstructure.

Label: *Bhagavato Sakamunino bodho*, *i.e.* 'Enlightenment of the Lord Śākyamuni.'

HOMAGE AFTER MĀRA'S DEFEAT

272.—In this relief, appearing below 270, there are four groups of standing figures in an attitude of adoration. Two figures in the group at the extreme left of the front row bear serpent-hoods on the turban, which shows that they are Nāgas. There are labels describing the three other groups : on the upper left, *Utaraṁ disa tini savata-nisisā.*, *i.e.*, ‘ on the north, three classes of all-pervading beings ’ ; on the upper right, *Purathima disa Sudhāvāsa-devatā*, *i.e.*, ‘ on the east, the deities of Śuddhāvāsa heaven ’ ; and on the lower right, *Dakhinaṁ disa chha-Kāmāvachāra-sahasāni*, *i.e.* ‘ on the south, six thousand Kāmāvachāra (‘ go as you please ’) deities (271-272). These divine and semi-divine beings have assembled evidently to pay homage to the Buddha after the defeat of Māra. The latter is seated under a tree, his head resting against his left hand ; with an arrow held in the other hand he is evidently writing something (the acknowledgment of his defeat ?) on a rock.[1] At the extreme right of the upper row is a short fat person, probably one of Māra's legions, carrying a pot on his head. His cheeks bear certain peculiar marks which occur also on the faces of the Yakshas shown as supporting a building in the lowermost panel (Plate VIII, *b*).

DANCE OF THE NYMPHS

273.—This relief, which occurs below 272, represents universal rejoicing in the heavenly world on the occasion of the Buddha's Enlightenment. The gods arranged a dance in which the heavenly nymphs (*Apsaras*) Alambushā, Miśrakeśī, Padmāvatī and Subhadrā took part ; they can be recognized from the respective labels. To their right is the divine orchestra composed entirely of women. The dwarfish little figure between the two dancers in the front row produces a sort of burlesque effect. The same burlesque is attempted, by introducing a small elephant, in another relief (266, Plate VIII, *a*). A label (274) appearing below the panel describes the scene as: *Sāḍika-saṁmadaṁ turaṁ devānaṁ*, which probably means a musical performance of the gods, accompanied with dance (Plate VIII, *b*).

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[1] See *Lalitavistara*, Vol. I, p. 357, line 14.

WORSHIP OF HAIR-LOCK

182.—The three-storeyed building is the 'Vaijayanta' palace of the god Śakra and the building with domed roof is 'Sudharmā', the Assembly Hall of the gods. The scene is the worship of the hair-lock of the Bodhisattva. After his flight from Kapilavastu, when the horse Kaṇṭhaka and the groom Chhandaka had departed, the Bodhisattva cut off his long hair and threw it upward, when it was immediately caught and carried to heaven by the gods. The panel shows the knot of hair placed on a throne and four nymphs dancing to the accompaniment of music.

Labels: *Vejayaṁto pāsāde*, 'the Vaijayaṁta Palace.'
Sudhaṁmā devasabhā, 'Sudharmā, the Assembly Hall of the gods.'
Bhagavato chūḍāmaho, 'the festival of the hair-lock of the Lord.'

ANNOUNCEMENT OF ARHADGUPTA

183.—As the inscription describes it, the panel represents the announcement by the angel Arhadgupta of the future inauguration of the Law of the Buddha, in 'the great assembly' of the gods. It shows the gods, a throne and two foot-prints in front of it representing the Bodhisattva. The winged angel Arhadgupta is seen kneeling before the foot-prints.

Label: *Mahāṣāmāyikāya Arahaguto devaputo vokato bhagavato sāsani paṭisaṁdhi*, 'In the great assembly (of the gods) the angel Arhadgupta announces the inception of the Divine Law of the Lord.'

Visit of Ajātaśatru

184.—Here is King Ajātaśatru worshipping the Buddha. The relief shows the king arriving in procession, then as dismounting from his elephant, and lastly as bowing before a throne marked with foot-prints, which stands for the Buddha himself.

Label: *Ajātasata bhagavato vaṁdate, i.e.* 'Ajātaśatru worships the Lord.'

Descent from Trayastriṁśa

187.—The Buddha's descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three (*Trayastriṁśa*) where he had gone to preach the Law to his mother. The relief shows in the centre a triple ladder, a throne under a tree, two flying deities and devotees waiting on all sides. According to the story, the Buddha descended by the middle ladder. A foot-print marked on the topmost step and another on the lowermost one symbolize the descent. Similar compositions, but without the ladder, appear above (186) and below (188) this panel, which remain unidentified.

Indraśāla Cave

298.—This is a representation of the cave *Idasāla* (*Indraśāla*) near Rājagṛiha whither the god Śakra came to visit the Buddha. The Buddha's throne and his divine visitor appear inside the cave, while the arboreal and rocky nature of the scene is suggested outside by blocks of stone, trees, monkeys and heads of animals peeping out of caves. A portion of the stringed instrument of the divine harpist Pañchaśikha, Śakra's companion, appears on the left side which is damaged. This scene is elaborately depicted in the Gandhāra School.

Label: *Idasāla-guha, i.e.* 'Indraśāla Cave.'

PURCHASE OF JETAVANA

156.—The Jetavana park at Śrāvastī is purchased by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika for the use of the Buddha. (Plate X, *b*). According to the story, Prince Jeta, the owner of the park agreed to sell it on condition that the ground should be covered by crores of gold coins. The relief shows a bullock cart by which the coins were brought to the garden, and also two persons engaged in spreading them over the ground. Anāthapiṇḍika appears in the scene as carrying a waterpot for pouring water over the Buddha's hands in the customary way, this formality being part of the ceremony of bestowing a gift. There are two temples or cottages, respectively bearing the labels *Kosabakuṭi* and *Gadhakuṭi*.

Label: *Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭi-saṁthatena ketā*, *i.e.* 'Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Jetavana, purchased with a layer of crores.'

URUBILVA KĀŚYAPA

384.—Three ascetics, all of them with matted hair, are seen flying in the sky and below them is a fire burning on an altar. R. Chanda identifies it as the story of Urubilva Kāśyapa who, stationed in the sky, offered oblation to the fire; but the fire would not burn, due to the magical power of the Buddha who happened to be present in his hermitage. A more detailed version occurs at Sāñchī (below p. 62).

5. Scenes relating to Past Buddhas

FIVE BUDDHAS

It has been already remarked that the figure of the Buddha Śākyamuni does not occur on the Bharhut Railing, his presence being indicated in each case by means of symbols. This formula is applied also to the five Past Buddhas: Vipaśyin (87), Viśvabhū (117), Krakuchchhanda (293), Kanakamuni (294) and Kāśyapa

(295). On the Bharhut Railing there are in all five full medallions devoted to these Buddhas, each of the medallions showing an empty throne and the particular tree under which each of them attained Enlightenment (*bodhi*). The names of these trees are well-known from literature, *viz.*, the *Pāṭali* of Vipaśyin, *Śāla* of Viśvabhū, *Śirīsha* of Krakuchchhanda, *Udumbara* of Kanakamuni and *Nyagrodha* of Kāśyapa.

87.—A throne under a tree (the *Pāṭali, Bignonia Suaveotens*), and worshippers. **VIPAŚYIN**

Label: *Bhagavato Vipasino bodhi, i.e.* 'the Bodhi tree of the Lord Vipaśyin.' Votive inscription: *Moragirimha Nāgilāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṁ thabhā, i.e.* 'the gift of pillars by the nun Nāgilā from Moragiri.'

117.—A throne under a tree (the *Śāla, Shorea Robusta*); *Triratna* symbol resting on the throne and worshippers. **VIŚVABHŪ**

Label: *Bhagavato Vesabhuno bodhi sālo, i.e.* 'the *Śāla*, the Bodhi tree of the Lord Viśvabhū.' Votive inscription: *Bhadaṁtāsa Aya-Bhutārakhitasa Khujatidukiyasa dānaṁ, i.e.* 'the gift of the Reverend teacher Bhūtarakshita, an inhabitant of Khujatiduka.'

293.—A throne under a tree (the *Śirīsha, Acacia Sirisa*), and worshippers. **KRAKUCHCHHANDA**

Label: *Bhagavato Kakusadhasa bodhi, i.e.* 'the Bodhi tree of the Lord Krakuchchhanda.' Votive inscription: *Purikaya dāyakāna dānaṁ, i.e.* 'the gift of the donors(?) from Purikā.'

294.—A throne under a tree (the *Udumbara, Ficus Glomerata*), and worshippers. **KANAKAMUNI**

Label: *Bhagavato Konāgamenasa bodhi, i.e.* 'the Bodhi tree of the Lord Kanakamuni.'

Kāśyapa

295.—A throne under a tree (the *Nyagrodha*, *Ficus Indica*), and worshippers.

Label: *Bhagavato Kasapasa bodhi*, *i.e.* 'the Bodhi tree of the Lord Kāśyapa.' Votive inscription: *Chekulana-Saghamitasa thabho dānaṁ*, *i.e.* 'the pillar-gift of Saṁghamitra from Chikulana.'

6. Unidentified Scenes

As already stated, all the scenes appearing on the Bharhut Railing have not yet been satisfactorily explained or identified. Among these we shall here call attention to such reliefs as have special interest.

Nāga and Nāgis

81.—This relief shows a Nāga king attended by two Nāgīs both of whom are waving fly-whisks.

Two Bullocks and a Cart

95.—Here we see a cart, two bullocks unyoked and resting, and a man seated on the ground who is evidently the driver of the cart. This has been identified by Chanda as the story of the merchants Trapusha and Bhallika who offered honey-lumps to the fasting Buddha in the seventh week after his Enlightenment. There were two miraculous bullocks named Sujāta and Kīrtika in the caravan of the merchants. The round vessel seen in the upper portion of the relief may represent the vessel containing honey. The four stone dishes, which the four guardian deities of the quarters presented to the Buddha on this occasion and which he pressed into one, are supposed to be represented by the enclosing squares.

Elephant dragged by Monkeys

119 and 164.—These are two medallions on the outer and inner faces of a cross-bar, both depicting practically the same scene: an elephant tied with a rope is being dragged along by a troop of monkeys in procession with great pomp. They appear in various comical poses and some of them play on musical instruments. One of the group is beating a drum, another is blowing a conch-shell, while a third is playing on cymbals.

MONKEY BARBER

191.—This is another comic scene. A gigantic looking person is being manicured by a monkey barber seated on a stool in front of him, while other monkeys are trying to pull out a hair from his nostril by means of a pair of pincers. As the process evidently requires great physical strength, the monkeys have engaged an elephant to whose shoulder the handle of the pincers has been fastened by means of a rope, and a monkey is trying to make the elephant move by means of a goad. The accompaniment of the monkey concert, as in 119 and 164, is to be noted.

PROCESSION OF BRAHMADEVA

255 and 256.—This relief, which is divided into two panels and bears the label *Bramhadevo mānavako*, 'the young man Brahmadeva,' represents a procession of elephants to the Bodhi tree. In the upper panel (255) an elephant with its rider is seen passing through a palace gate, followed by persons carrying offerings. One of the elephant-riders in the lower panel (256) carries a tray which probably contains coins, these resembling the pieces spread over the ground in the Jetavana scene (156).

BANYAN TREE ON NAḌODA

266.—A herd of elephants encircling a banyan tree with a seat in front, before which the animals, old and young, are kneeling in reverence. The banyan tree is described in the label: *Bahuhathiko nigodho Naḍode*, *i.e.*, 'the Banyan tree with many elephants, on Mount Naḍoda'. This occurs below 265 (worship by Erāpata) on the same rail pillar (Plate VIII, *a*).

Buddha's Decease

267-269.—This is a rail pillar, one face of which is divided into three panels. The top one (267) shows a stūpa, probably representing the decease of the Buddha, and a lion-pillar. In the middle panel (268) there are figures of a man and a woman, both standing. The woman holds in her left hand a bird and the man, a flower. Between the two figures is inscribed the label *Kaḍariki.* which probably means 'the dweller of a cave'. In the lowest panel (269) are represented rocks, and the male is seen tying his turban and the female is seated by his side. The name of the male figure is engraved as *Vijapi Vijādharo, i.e.,* 'the *Vidyādhara* Vijapi.'

Vidyādhara couple

Triangular structure

292.—A triangular structure is surrounded by beasts of the jungle, and within the enclosure is a serpent. Label: *tikoṭiko chakama, i.e.,* 'the Triangular Walk'.

Procession of Elephants

308.—Two elephants are going out in procession. The bigger one in front has two riders, one holding a goad and a staff with hanging garlands and the other behind him holding a *Triratna*-standard (like the one depicted on a gateway of Sāñchī Stūpa I). Another standard is also carried by the elephant on its trunk. The rider of the smaller elephant carries an umbrella.

Bull in water

309.—Here we see a bull stranded in water, while a wolf is seated on the bank. Another wolf has evidently been caught in a snare and is hanging from the top of a pole.

Sin and Buddhist Hell

313-316.—These four reliefs, occurring side by side on the coping, seem to represent a single story. Dr. Barua takes these to represent the torments a couple had to suffer for the sin of killing people by administering poison. According to this view, panel

313 shows a woman extracting something from a (poisonous) shrub and also cooking it in a pot. In the next panel, 314, she is serving the food to two male persons; in the third, 315, both she and another man are making two children partake of something; and in the fourth, 316, which probably represents a Buddhist hell, two birds are sitting on the heads of the male and the female, probably in the act of devouring them.

MEN, LIONS, ETC.

331.—It shows an altar or throne behind which are four lions; on the right are five persons standing in an attitude of adoration, while one is seated on the left in mournful attitude, his head leaning against the left hand. In front are two demoniacal heads and a bundle of faggots burning; at one end of the bundle is a serpent and at the other, a small human figure lying prostrate. Label: *Daḍanikamo chakamo, i.e.* 'the Walk of Daṇḍanishkrama.'

WOMAN IN CREMATION GROUND

333.—The scene is in a cremation ground. A man is lying prostrate, a woman has climbed up a tree and a number of jackals seated underneath the tree are looking wistfully at the woman. Barua compares the scene with Asilakkhana-jātaka (Jātaka No. 126) which narrates how a king's daughter is desperately loved by his nephew who caused her to be brought to a cemetery on the pretext of averting some evil by magic. He laid himself on the ground, so that he would be taken for a corpse, and managed to frighten away her attendants who had followed her there. When the attendants had left, he got up and escorted his bride home. Label: *Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigāla ñati, i.e.* 'Woman Āshāḍhā, jackals in a cremation ground and (her) kinsman.'

Seat surrounded by animals

339.—A seat under a tree surrounded by a number of deer and lions. Label: *Migasamadakaṁ chetaya*, *i.e.* 'the Shrine at Migasammatā' ('where animals rejoice together', *Jātaka Text*, VI, 72-73).

Ascetic and pupils

358.—An ascetic is occupying a high seat under a tree and four other ascetics, who are his pupils, are seated before him. Label: *Dighatapasi sise anusāsati*, *i.e.* 'the long-experienced ascetic or Dīrghatapasvin instructs his pupils.'

Basket-carriers

386.—Here we can recognize a man and a woman standing together in the courtyard of a house; the woman is holding out a basket into which the man is pouring something from another basket. Another man is waiting outside with two baskets tied to the end of a pole resting on the ground.

Monetary transaction

388.—Two men appear on the right, one of whom is seated, holding a bag in his left hand. In front of them are lying clusters of banana-like objects. Two other men on the left are engaged in conversation. The bag shows that some monetary transaction is going on between the two parties.

Gahapati-Jātaka

393.—Here we have two men and a woman. The woman is looking out of a jar-like vessel (granary ?) placed in the courtyard of a house and one of the men is seated there pointing towards her. Another man, who seems to be approaching from outside and addressing him, is evidently in an agitated mood. According to Barua this illustrates the Gahapati-Jātaka (Jātaka No. 199). In that story, the wife of a house-holder is involved in a love affair with the village headman. The husband caught the two one day, as he returned home unexpectedly, and the woman tried in vain to hide herself in the granary of the house.

ASCETIC AND DEVOTEES

395.—An ascetic is seated under a tree facing four male persons who are in an attitude of adoration. By his side are kept a water-vessel and a basket probably containing some fruits.

PRINCE TALKING TO LADY

402.—A princely looking person is seated on a raised, decorated seat, his left leg resting on a stool. He is evidently talking to a woman standing before him. Behind her is another woman who seems to be leaving the place with her back turned against the group.

MIRACULOUS ROCK

408.—It represents a rock which the label describes as *chitupāda-sila*, *i.e.* 'the miracle-producing rock. On it is spread a game-board divided into squares and four persons are playing dice, two on each side. A crack has appeared in the rock, passing right through the game-board, splitting it into two sections. The two players with folded hands on the right are evidently struck with awe, while the other two are looking on. There are two Jātaka stories (Nos. 91 and 422), both of which narrate how a dishonest dice-player met with dire consequences, and the present scene may represent one of these.

TEMPLE

414.—An ascetic is seated under a tree outside a domed structure which contains something like an image and probably represents a temple. Before him are standing two males with folded hands and a female.

ASCETIC IN A CAVE

426.—A mutilated relief in two fragments, showing an ascetic with matted hair seated in a cave and an elephant waiting outside.[1] Label: *Jatila-sabhā*, *i.e.* 'the Assembly Hall of the ascetics with matted hair.'

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[1] The portion showing the elephant was found in the Museum godowns and joined to the other portion in 1935.

7. The Art of Bharhut

Having acquainted the visitor with practically all the interesting reliefs, we may conclude our survey of the Bharhut Stūpa with a brief notice of its artistic features. The different parts of the monument were erected out of subscription contributed by various donors, and the execution of the reliefs was apparently entrusted to artizans of different grades. Consequently, the output could not be of uniform artistic merit. In fairness to the Bharhut artists, it must be said that the *folk art* which it represents should not be judged by the standard that we may adopt in the case of the *Asokan Imperial art* which stands in a class by itself. The art of Bharhut shares the same archaic features as found in the contemporary arts of the West. It is still under the operation of the law of 'frontality' and dependent more on 'memory picture' than on direct observation of nature, though often there are signs of a slight advance beyond the archaic stage. As regards frontality, it is worth noting that in the case of most of the figures the Bharhut sculptor still adheres to the same tradition and style as found in those on the Mauryan stone-rings from Mathurā, Sankisa and Taxila and on the gold leaves from Piprawah and Lauriya Nandangarh. Some of the figures on the corner-pillars are sharply detached from their blank back-ground and show rather coarse modelling. As a result of aversion to depth and disregard of anatomical accuracy, the body is flattened out and distorted, the limbs are made severely angular, and the feet and the folded hands of the devotees being on the same plane are invari-

Folk Art

Its archaic features

ably placed sideways. There are again others in more naturalistic poses, gently projecting from the background, with delicate and rounded forms, displaying greater efficiency in modelling. But nowhere has the artist been able to grade the different parts of the body into varying depths, as in nature. As regards the execution of the scenes, the Bharhut artists have adopted certain special expedients. The composition in these scenes, it should be noted, is very much condensed, and no attempt is made to define the space in a relief. It is without a background: if there is a tree, a rock or a hut introduced in a scene, it is merely with a view to make the story clear. Nor is there any attempt to represent the three dimensions of an object; that is to say, the ideas of illusionism and perspective, which help a realistic picture to develop, have not yet come into the field. As in the reliefs of other ancient countries of this period, the method of 'continuous narration' is adopted in telling a story, in which both time and space are eliminated. Incidents happening at different times and at different places are thus squeezed into one and the same relief, the main figures being repeated at intervals. When a multitude of people are shown the figures appear in a single plane, either one above the other in columnar array or side by side in a horizontal row; but rarely is one figure placed behind another, dividing the relief into several thicknesses. Moreover, the figures are shown as of equal height, irrespective of their mutual distance, thus ignoring what a perspective treatment would demand. It is only when the intention is to emphasize the importance of a particular figure in a group that its size is made larger than the rest. Also, little attempt is made to delineate human feelings, so that the figures are practically devoid of expression and look all alike. The different persons in a composition appear quite unaffected by the environment and are regardless of one another. Only in certain cases, as in the dancing groups, is there any perceptible attempt to represent action and movement, by unnatural contortion of the human body. On the whole, the artists are evidently more concerned with the execution of the minute details of decoration, *e.g.*, the delicate patterns in the drapery of a figure, its ornaments, etc., than with the composition as a whole. It seems as if the carvings were meant for a microscopic study at close quarters and not for being viewed from a distance. The sculpture of Bharhut lacks the vigour and animation of the Asokan examples (*cf.* p. 3 above). This is illustrated very clearly by the crude animal figures, *e.g.*, those of the lion and the bull. Nevertheless the reliefs, in keeping with their plain narrative character, have a charming simplicity of their own, which is reflected not only in their decorative beauty but also in the sincere attempt to portray nature.

DEPARTURE FROM ASOKAN STANDARD

III. MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

1. SĀÑCHĪ

RELIEFS OF STŪPA II AND GATEWAYS OF STŪPA I

In the Bharhut Room are kept, for purposes of comparison, a few casts of reliefs from the monuments at Sāñchī in Bhopal State, Central India. They refer to the railing of Stūpa II (latter part of 2nd century B.C.) and the Gateways of Stūpa I, which belong to the 1st century B.C., the age of the Andhra kings who ruled over Malwa after the Śuṅgas. According to Sir John Marshall, the sculptures of Stūpa II are of a slightly earlier date than those of the Bharhut Stūpa ; but the difference in age could not have been more than two or three decades at the most. In point of style some disparity can no doubt be detected between the two sets of sculpture, but this is to be attributed more to the local factor than to anything else, both belonging to an identical phase of evolution of Indian art.

ART OF SĀÑCHĪ

The observations that we have made above regarding the archaic features of the art of Bharhut (p. 54) apply equally to that of Stūpa II. Here also the human figure is guided by the law of 'frontality' and dependent on 'memory picture,' although, as Marshall has pointed out, there is evidence to show that this art was struggling for freedom from the trammels of the rigid orthodox style to which Indian craftsmen had been hitherto accustomed. On the railing of

Stūpa II there appear a few reliefs in which the figures reveal greater mastery in modelling, freedom of pose and an advanced technique. Thus in the central medallion of S. 6 (p. 64 below) a tall but slender-bodied female is standing gracefully on a lotus. This figure is in marked contrast to the female figures we usually find elsewhere on the Stūpa. Moreover, in some reliefs greater attention is given to the problem of representing space. These particular examples therefore may be said to mark a transition between the archaic reliefs of Stūpa II and the more developed ones on the Gateways of Stūpa I—a phase that is reflected also in the palæography of the inscriptions on Stūpa II. The reliefs on the Gateways of Stūpa I, although to some extent under the influence of the same archaic style, are not so rigid and formal, and the figures show a greater variety of poses than are noticeable in the earlier reliefs of Sāñchī and Bharhut. The disposition of the figures in rows and their arrangement in the various compositions illustrate, as shown by Marshall, an attempt at perspective treatment. The expedients adopted by the artists betoken illusionistic ideas and an effort to gain pictorial effect in stone. For instance, the figures in the back rows are made gradually diminishing in size, in order to give an idea of distance, and the figures, which are generally in high relief, project out of the background, adding to this illusionism. Of course, in spite of their attempts to gain depth and distance it cannot be said that the artists were ever entirely successful, until at a much later date, in representing accurately the three dimensions of an object. But in contrast to the earlier reliefs the poses of the figures on the Gateways are surprisingly unaffected and natural and the style is much more fluid and unrestrained. Indeed, the figures are full of movement and vivacity; they enter into relationship with each other and are thus brought into proper coherence. The reliefs are, as a rule, much more elaborate, diverse and detailed than they were ever before; and the artists have managed to achieve grouping and balancing of figures in a most admirable manner.

We shall now pass on to the individual examples represented in our collection by a few plaster casts and a single original sculpture.

S. 1.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, North Gateway, right pillar.

DEDICATION OF STŪPA

It probably represents the dedication of a stūpa. On each side of the stūpa are two winged superhuman beings offering garlands. In the foreground is a group of people dancing and playing on various instruments, to celebrate the occasion. Two of them have peaked cap and one has his hair bound by a fillet. Further, they wear high boots and tight-fitting tunics with sleeves, reaching below the knees (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 57).

S. 15.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, North Gateway, right pillar.

HONEY OFFERING

The Offering of a Bowl of Honey to the Buddha by a monkey at Śrāvastī is the subject matter of this relief. The Buddha's presence is here indicated by the *pipal* tree and throne, to which devotees are making obeisance. The monkey first appears with the bowl as offering the honey and then with empty hands after the offering has been made (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 58).

S. 2.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, West Gateway, right pillar.

MAHĀKAPI-JĀTAKA

This represents the *Mahākapi-jātaka* which is depicted also on the Bharhut railing (see above p. 36). The Bodhisattva, born as the leader of monkeys, lived on the Ganges, where they used to eat the fruits of a mango tree. King Brahmadatta of Benares, having come to know of the excellence of the mangoes, surrounded the tree with his soldiers, in order to kill the monkeys and take possession of the tree. The Bodhisattva forthwith formed a bridge over the river with his own body, by which the monkeys could escape into safety. Devadatta, the jealous cousin of the Buddha, who was also a monkey in that life and was living with the Bodhisattva, seizing the opportunity to destroy him, jumped on his back and broke his heart. The king, struck by the self-sacrifice and courage of the Bodhisattva, nursed him with great care and showed him, when he was dying, all the honour due to a king. In the panel, winding from top to bottom is the river Ganges. To the left at the top is the mango tree. The leader of the monkeys has stretched himself across the river as a bridge, along which some monkeys have already escaped. In the lower part of the panel, King Brahmadatta appears on horseback with his soldiers, one of whom having bow and arrow is aiming upwards at the Bodhisattva. Higher up the panel, the king is seated under the tree and conversing with the dying Bodhisattva (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 70-71).

S. 3.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, West Gateway, left pillar.

Śyāma-Jātaka

The *Śyāma-jātaka*: Śyāma, the only son of a blind hermit and his wife, goes to draw water at the river and being mistaken for a deer is shot with an arrow by the King of Benares. The king's penitence and the bewailing of Śyāma's parents brought down Indra from heaven who restored Śyāma to life and also his parents' eye-sight. At the right hand top corner of the panel are depicted the hermitage and the father and mother of Śyāma. Below, the lad is seen approaching the stream. To the left, the figure of the king is thrice repeated, first as shooting Śyāma, then with bow in hand, and finally as standing with bow and arrow discarded. In the left top corner is shown the last episode in which appear the father, the mother and the son restored to health, and also the God Indra and the king (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 73).

S. 13.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, East Gateway, right pillar.

Dream; Reception at Kapilavastu

The Dream, *i.e.*, the Conception of Queen Māyā, the mother of the Buddha. The city of Kapilavastu where the miracle happened is represented in the panel. Māyā is seen lying in a pavilion and on her is descending the Bodhisattva in the form of a white elephant. Below is represented another scene, the procession of King Śuddhodana, father of the Buddha, passing through the streets of the city and issuing forth from the gate to meet the Buddha on his return to Kapilavastu after Enlightenment. At the bottom of the panel is portrayed the miracle which the Buddha performed on this occasion, to prove his supernatural power, namely, his walking in space. In the extreme left is a banyan tree (*nyagrodha*), signifying the park Śuddhodana presented to his son (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 64).

S. 16.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, East Gateway, left pillar.

A MIRACLE AT URUBILVA

This represents another miracle, the Victory of the Buddha over the Serpent in the Fire temple at Urubilva. The Buddha obtained the permission of the sage Kāśyapa to pass a night in the Fire temple of his hermitage which was inhabited by a terrible serpent. The Serpent attacked the Buddha, but was ultimately overcome and had to creep into his begging bowl. In the panel, mark the Fire temple with an altar in front, a throne indicating the presence of the Buddha within, the five-headed serpent, the Brahmanical ascetics and also the Nairañjanā river near which the hermitage of Kāśyapa is situated (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 66-67).

S. 17.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, East Gateway, left pillar.

OTHER MIRACLES AT URUBILVA

This relief illustrates the Miracles of the Wood, the Fire and the Oblation. After the miracle at the Fire temple, a sacrifice was arranged by the Brāhmaṇas, but the wood for the fire would not split, the fire would not burn, and the oblation could not be offered, until the Buddha gave his consent. In the relief, this triple miracle is represented (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 67-68).

S. 18.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, East Gateway, left pillar.

CROSSING THE NAIRAÑJANĀ

Here is shown the Miracle of the Buddha walking on the Waters. The Nairañjanā river is in flood and the sage Kāśyapa accompanied by a disciple and a boatman hastens in a boat to the rescue of the Buddha. In the lower part of the panel, the Buddha, whose presence is indicated by a promenade (*chaṅkrama*), appears walking on the waters. In the foreground (on the bank of the river), the figures of Kāśyapa and his disciple are twice repeated, doing homage to the Master who is represented by the throne (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 65).

S. 14.—Cast of relief on Stūpa I, South Gateway, left pillar.

WORSHIP OF HAIR-LOCK

This represents the Worship of the Bodhisattva's hair by deities in the *Trayastriṁśa* heaven. Before he renounced the world Gautama stripped himself of all the princely garments and cut off his long hair with his sword. The hair and the turban were thrown into the air, whence they were caught hold of by the gods and carried to the *Trayastriṁśa* heaven for worship (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 51). *Cf.* Bharhut 182 for another representation of the same scene. The relief bears an inscription which reads: *Vedisakehi daṁtakārehi rupakaṁmaṁ kataṁ*, *i.e.*, 'the carving executed by the ivory-workers of Vidiśā.'

FEMALE BRACKET FIGURE

S. 12.—This is the only original sculpture from Sāñchī in our collection (Plate XI, *b*; ht. 2′ 2″). As a detached bracket-figure in the round it must have stood on the projecting end of the upper architrave of a gateway. Similar figures appear on the Gateways of Stūpa I. It represents a woman holding on to the branches of a *Śāla* tree (as a participant in the *Śālabhañjikā* play).

She is quite nude except for the transparent garment draped round the lower limbs. Her head-dress is bound by a jewel fillet from which the folds of the hair descend on her back in long loops. She wears two large ear-rings, a necklace, a waist chain, bracelets and two heavy anklets.

S. 6.—Cast of relief on Stūpa II, East Gateway, right pillar.

Fertility Goddess

The uppermost portion of the relief is decorated with a half floral medallion, and below this is the standing figure of a woman under an arched gateway. Further down is a full medallion depicting a larger semi-nude female figure standing on a lotus with an attendant on each side. She is probably the Goddess of Fortune or Fertility, the same deity who appears in a different style and in a less elegant pose on the Bharhut railing. Regarding the workmanship of this relief see above p. 58 (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 140).

2. Buddha-Gayā

Buddha-Gayā Railing

After he has made himself familiar with the remains of Bharhut and Sāñchī the visitor should pause a while before a reconstructed railing, composed partly of original pieces and partly of plaster cast replicas of certain members of the stone railing of Buddha-Gayā in the Gaya District of Bihar. This railing, of which remnants are still *in situ,* originally formed a quadrangle, measuring 145 feet by 108 feet, round the holy *pipal* tree under whose shade the Buddha attained Enlightenment (*Bodhi*). In the vicinity of this tree, and within the same enclosure, was erected in later times a temple which has attracted, throughout the ages, pilgrims from all parts of the Buddhistic world. A Bharhut relief shows that a holy edifice marked the spot of Enlightenment as early as the second century B.C. The railing that now stands at Buddha-Gayā is however not earlier than the first century B.C., and some parts of it were introduced even as late as 300-600 A.D.

Its Art

The coping of the Buddha-Gayā railing is adorned with a continuous floral band on the outside, and a frieze of animals—some real, others fantastic—on the inside. The cross-bars have lotus medallions, often centred with human bust, winged animal figures or other patterns, and on the pillars are carved either standing figures of semi-divine beings or panels and medallions representing various Buddhistic scenes. The system of embellishment by relief adopted on the Buddha-Gayā railing is thus similar to that of Bharhut. But the decorative effect of this railing is decidedly poor as compared to the Bharhut monument. Also the method of story-telling has now become so very abbreviated and cryptic that it verges on sheer symbolism. This can be well demonstrated by a comparison of reliefs representing identical scenes (*e.g.*, the story of Anāthapiṇḍika). In point of technical skill, on the other hand, the artists have made a definite advance beyond the stage reached on the Bharhut railing. They are more successful in the grading of reliefs along different planes to denote the three dimensions of an object, and the figures are characterized by greater freedom of movement. But the Buddha-Gayā reliefs lack the wealth of composition, exuberance and creative impulse, manifest in the workmanship on the Sāñchī Gateways, and occupy, therefore, in point of development, a stage midway between Bharhut and Sāñchī. The Buddha-Gayā monument can be assigned to the early years of the 1st century B.C., to the reign of Kings Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra, while the Sāñchī Gateways belong to the latter half of that century. Sir John Marshall[1] draws attention to the fact that the Buddha-Gayā sculpture is "more pronouncedly affected by the influence of western art," so far as the motifs are concerned. Witness, for instance, the centaurs, the winged monsters and tritons and the Sun-god driving a four-horse chariot (quadriga) which is copied from a Hellenistic prototype. In his opinion these prove incontestably that, at the time of the erection of the railing, "Indian sculptors were borrowing freely from the hybrid cosmopolitan art of Western Asia".

The fragmentary Buddha-Gayā railing in the Museum is constituted as follows: (*i*) Original pieces, marked with the letters B to G, J to M, Q and Z, (*ii*) Plaster casts, numbered serially from 1 to 48, to which all the original pieces excepting Q, M and Z are joined to give an idea of the railing as it stands at the site.

ORIGINAL PIECES

B.—Fragment of the upper portion of a pillar. Size 1′ 3″×1′ 1½″. In a half medallion are represented two male devotees worshipping the holy *Triratna* placed on throne.

C.—Fragment of the upper portion of a pillar. Size 1′ 8″×1′ 2″. It shows on one face a throne by the side of a pillar of which only the crowning portion, consisting of a wheel carried by two human-headed lions seated back to back, is visible, the shaft of the pillar being hidden by the throne. On each side of the throne are a banner and a number of lotuses with stalks. On the other face of the stone is seen a man ploughing with two oxen, also an altar and two trees. This scene has been identified as the First Meditation of Gautama during the Ploughing Festival organized by his father, King Śuddhodana at Kapilavastu.

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 626.

D.—Fragment of a pillar. Size 1′ 4″×1′. The relief represents the sacred tree *Śirīsha* (*Albizzia lebbek*) by the side of a throne.

E.—Cross-bar with a lotus medallion on either side. Size 3′×1′2″. It bears an inscription in Brāhmī characters of *circa* 1st century B.C., which reads *Amoghasa dāna, i.e.*, 'the gift of Amogha.'

F.—Cross-bar with a lotus medallion on either side. Size 1′ 1″×1′ 3″. It bears an inscription in Brāhmī characters of *circa* 1st century B.C., which runs as follows:—*Budharakhitasa Tabapanakasa dānaṁ, i.e.*, 'the gift of Buddharakshita, a Tabapanaka (an inhabitant of Tāmraparṇa, *i.e.*, Ceylon).'

J.—Coping fragment. Size 6′ 4″×1′ 1″×1′. On one face is a frieze of nine fabulous animals in a prancing attitude. The animals are represented in pairs, each having a twisted fish-tail and the head of elephant, bull, ram or lion. Along the lower margin was engraved in a much later period an inscription which records the carrying out of repairs and renovation of the Great Temple of Vajrāsana (at Buddha-Gayā) at a cost of 250 *dīnāras* (gold coins), and a gift of three hundred cows to meet the cost of burning lamps inside the temple and also of future repairs.[1] The characters are of about the 6th century A.D. The other face of the stone is decorated with overlapping rosettes.

K.—Coping fragment. Size 3′×1′ 1″×1′. It bears on one face a frieze of six fabulous animals, all in motion, with long uplifted tails. Some have human head and wings, while others the body of a horse. The other face of the coping is decorated with a long undulating creeper pattern.

L.—Coping fragment. Size 3′10″×1′1″×1′. On one face there is a frieze of four fabulous animals, all having human heads, fish-tails and hoofs. Between one animal figure and another there occurs the 'honey-suckle' ornament. The other face bears the pattern of overlapping scales, and above this is the following inscription in Brāhmī characters of about 1st century B.C.: *Îdāgimitrāsa pājāvātiye jivāputrāye Kura[ṁ]giye dānaṁ rājapāsādā-chetikāsa*, *i.e.*, 'the gift of Kuraṁgī, the wife of Indrāgnimitra and the mother of living sons, to the *chaitya* (*chetika*) of the noble temple.'[2] *Cf.* p. 72 below.

M.[3]—Coping fragment. Size 3′ 6″×1′ 1″×1′. It has on one face a line of rosettes and, on the other, figures of three fabulous animals and two 'honey-suckle' ornaments. The animal at the extreme left end may be a rhinoceros, while the third animal with its short tail may represent a horse. The first two animals have hoofs and upraised long tails.

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[1] Bloch, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 153.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147, n. 3.

[3] M, Q and Z are kept on the stone bench along the Western wall of the Bharhut Room.

Q.—Coping fragment with a frieze of fabulous animals including a winged ram and a winged lion, both having human face. Size 1′ 4″×8″.

Z.—Fragment, probably the upper part of a pillar, bearing an elaborate 'honey-suckle' design. Size 11½″×1′.

Plaster Casts

1.—Medallion. Three elephants bringing garlands for offering at the Bodhi tree.

2.—A Yakshī clinging to a tree: her left foot is thrown round a branch and her feet are supported from below by a seated male figure.

3 and 4.—Corner pillar. Eight panels arranged vertically, four on each face. *Beginning from top:* 3. (*a*) A two-storeyed building, representing a temple, in which the *Triratna* is placed on throne; (*b*) the Sun-god seated in a chariot drawn by four horses, on each side of the god a female (Ushā and Pratyushā) shooting arrows; (*c*) an amorous couple; (*d*) another amorous scene, a male figure standing between two females also standing. 4. (*a*) A temple, through an arched opening of which is seen a wheel, the *dharmachakra*; below, a devotee stands with folded hands before a throne placed under an umbrella; (*b*) a group of persons saluting the Bodhi tree; (*c*) a man with a harp drawing towards himself a woman; (*d*) a man attempting to catch hold of a woman who is about to run away; a *deva* appears between them.

5.—Half medallion. The scene of Jetavana purchased by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika for the use of the Buddha. The ground of the Jetavana garden is being covered with coins brought over to the site by Anāthapiṇḍika's servants. For a fuller version of the story see Bharhut 156 (above p. 45).

6.—A winged horse in the centre of a lotus medallion.

8 and 9.—Corner pillar. Eight panels arranged vertically, four on each face. *Beginning from top:* 8. (*a*) A couple worshipping *Triratna*; (*b*) a Chaitya temple supported by several arches; (*c*) a male and a female with a harp standing in amorous posture; (*d*) a standing couple of whom the male has his hands folded in adoration. 9. (*a-b*) The first two panels from the top are similar to those of 8; (*c*) the *dharma-chakra* or the Wheel of Law surmounting a pillar, and two worshippers; (*d*) two Yakshas, each carrying a stūpa on his head.

10.—A *makara* in the centre of a lotus medallion.

12.—A couple seated in the centre of a lotus medallion.

14.—Half medallion. A tree within railing; on each side is an umbrella planted on the ground and a garland hanging above.

15.—Panel showing a princely figure seated on a sofa attended by three other persons, of whom one is a female *chauri*-bearer, and another seems to be offering something in a plate to the seated figure.

17.—Half medallion. Two persons standing with folded hands in front of a cave.

18.—Panel showing a dancing scene. A woman seems to be engaged in dancing, while a male plays on a stringed instrument.

20.—Half medallion. A hermit seated cross-legged under a tree outside a cave.

23.—Half medallion. A female standing in the midst of a lotus bush, holding lotus stalks in each hand. *Cf.* Bharhut.

24.—Panel showing a male and a female standing in an amorous pose; a high-necked vessel is seen to the right of the female figure.

26.—Half medallion. A female standing in a lotus bush with a lotus stalk in each hand; similar to 23.

27.—Panel. A couple similar to 24; a vessel is placed between the figures.

29.—Half medallion. A goddess standing on lotus is bathed by two elephants. *Cf.* Bharhut. Below is an inscription in Brāhmī characters of about 1st century B.C., which reads: *Raño Bramhamitrasa pājāvatiye Nāgadevaye dana*, *i.e.*, 'the gift of Nāgadevī, the wife of the king Brahmamitra.'

30.—Rail pillar. A male figure standing on a lion, holding a bunch of flowers.

31.—Half medallion. A boat in a lake full of lotuses. There are three persons in the boat, one standing at the helm, another propelling the boat with a pole and the third kneeling in adoration at the prow.

32.—A man seated cross-legged, in the centre of a lotus medallion, probably offering protection with one hand and holding a staff in the other.

34.—Medallion. A lady and a boy watching a goat standing on a high pedestal.

35.—Half medallion. A winged bull in the centre of a lotus medallion.

37.—Half medallion. A god flying towards the Bodhi tree, across a turreted city, carrying a garland. A devotee kneeling before the tree in adoration.

40.—A bird picking up something from the ground, in the centre of a lotus medallion.

42.—Half medallion. *Indraśāla-guhā* or the cave where Indra paid a visit to the Buddha. Indra's harper is seen approaching the cave; the presence of the Buddha is indicated by his empty throne. *Cf.* Bharhut 298 (above p. 45).

43.—A winged elephant in the centre of a lotus medallion.

47.—Coping fragment. A frieze of four winged animals, two of them resembling horses, followed by two bulls. All the animals are running from right to left. On the other face, above a line of rosettes, is the following inscription in Brāhmī characters of about 1st century B.C.: *(Kosi)kaputrasa Îdāgimitrāsa (p)ājavatiye jivaputra(y)e Kuraṁgiye dāna rā(jap)āsāda-cheti(kā)*........[1] For an almost identical text occurring on another coping see above p. 68.

48.—Coping fragment. A frieze of crocodiles with twisted tails; a boy struggling between two such animals, one of whom he drags along with him. On the other face of the stone there is only a line of rosettes.

3. PATNA AND RAJGIR

RAJGIR AND KUMRAHAR SCULPTURES

Three sculptures from Rajgir (ancient Rājagṛiha, Patna District) and Kumrahar (ancient Pāṭaliputra, Patna District), bearing the so-called Mauryan polish, are exhibited in the Bharhut Room. These lack the realistic style of Asokan sculpture and may for that reason have to be relegated to the 2nd rather than the 3rd century B.C.

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[1] Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. X, 8-9.

N. S. 3.—On the Eastern wall at the south-eastern corner of the Room is a hood (Plate XI, *a*) consisting of a group of serpent-heads (15½″ high by 18½″ broad). There is a tenon below by which the hood must have been fixed to the body of a Nāga figure. It comes from Rajgir.

5582.—On a pedestal below the Nāga heads is a griffin (ht. 27″) having the head and paws of a lion, the wings of a bird and the horns of a ram (Plate XI, *c*). It is a sandstone figure in the round and is highly polished. " The modelling of the body of the monster is graceful, rather too graceful for its fierce mien. The wings are disproportionately small and the forelegs and paws are rendered conventionally and remind one of wooden proto-type."[1] It was excavated by L. A. Waddell at Kumrahar, near Patna City.

5583.—On the same pedestal is fixed another sandstone griffin figure (ht. 24″), almost an exact replica of the above. This was also unearthed by Waddell at Kumrahar.

OTHER PĀṬALIPUTRA FINDS

A few other objects from the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra, which is now represented by Patna City and its neighbourhood, are deposited in the Bharhut Room. These were collected by Waddell, along with the two griffins mentioned above, at the instance of the Government of Bengal, and presented to the Museum in 1899. The objects comprise two beams of *Śāla* wood and several fragments of stone railing.

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[1] Chanda, *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 30, p. 44.

Wooden beams of Mauryan date

5606, 5607.—The two beams are also exhibited along with the sculptures. Each is mortised with five holes and measures about 17′ in length. These must have evidently formed part of the wooden palisade that surrounded the city of Pāṭaliputra in the time of the Maurya King Chandragupta (4th century B. C.), as recorded by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes. Since Waddell's explorations similar wooden beams have been discovered at several other places in and around Patna City.

Railing fragments

The railing fragments, exhibited along the walls to the right and left of the entrance to the Gandhāra Room, belong to two small-size railings of sandstone which were discovered at Kumrahar. The pillars of one measure 46″ and of the other only 37″, in height. Both are sculptured on one side and belong stylistically to the Buddha-Gayā group. The cross-bars of one of the railings are lenticular while those of the other rectangular in section.

5571, 5572, 5574-5576.—This Railing consists of two pillars between which are inserted two cross-bars; the uppermost cross-bar and the coping are missing (Plate XI, *d*). There are three medallions on each of the pillars, a square panel on the middle cross-bar and a medallion on the lower one. One of the medallions (5574) shows a turbaned seated figure. There are two other figures besides who appear to be children. One of them is in the lap of the turbaned person whose right hand is placed on the head of the other child that is standing. Another medallion shows perhaps the horse-faced Yakshī Aśvamukhī carrying a child in her arms. In a former birth the Bodhisattva was born to this lady and learnt from her the art of tracking foot-steps (*Jātaka Text*, No. 432). The square panel (5571) on the middle cross-bar represents a hooded Nāga standing under a tree, his right arm raised in the attitude of offering protection. At the foot of the tree are seen two spouted vessels[1] and at the right hand side appears a bird perched on a rock.

5580.—Rail pillar. Half medallions at top and bottom and a full medallion in the centre representing a lion and its cub or some other animal.

5573 and 5577.—Rail pillars. An amorous couple standing under a tree appears on each, similar to those on the Buddha-Gayā railing.[2]

5586 and 5587.—These are two cross-bars belonging to the same railing of which 5573 and 5577 are parts. The rectangular shape of the cross-bars is peculiar. Relief 5586 represents a lion and 5587, a *makara*.

5578.—This is a crudely executed rail pillar on which the figure of a warrior carrying a sword and a shield can be recognized.

4. UDAYAGIRI CAVES, ORISSA

CASTS OF FRIEZES IN UDAYAGIRI CAVES

On the Eastern Wall of the Bharhut Room are displayed the casts (A-M) of some highly ornate friezes belonging to the rock-cut caves of the Udayagiri hill near Bhuvanesvar in Puri District. Each of the caves is called by a distinct name, and the friezes with which we are here concerned relate to the caves locally known as Rānī Nur, Sarpa, Ananta, Gaṇeśa and Jayā Vijayā. The casts were prepared by the Calcutta School of Art under the direction of Principal H. H. Locke in 1869, at the expense of the Government of Bengal. After the lapse of so many years these replicas in plaster cannot be expected to be found in a very satisfactory condition ; still they are of sufficient interest and value inasmuch as the originals themselves have since undergone much deterioration.[1]

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[1] Similar spouted vessels connected with Nāga worship have been recently discovered (in 1935) at Maniyar Math in Rajgir.

[2] Amorous groups appear also on the Gateways of Sāñchī Stūpa I (1st century B.C.).

AGE OF THE CAVES

The Udayagiri caves have been carved out of the living rock like those of Western India. They were evidently intended for the residence of Jaina monks, and made probably in the first century B.C. During this century the great Jaina king Khāravela of Kaliṅga set up a long inscription recording his achievements, in the celebrated cave known as Hāthigumphā in this very hill (called *Kumārī-parvata* in the inscription), and there is little doubt that at least some of the caves were excavated by him and his family.

FRIEZES IN RĀNĪ NUR CAVE

It is possible that the residence of *Arhats* (monks), which King Khāravela is represented in his inscription to have erected, refers to Rānī Nur or Rānīgumphā. This lies behind Hāthigumphā[2] and is the most spacious and elaborately decorated rock-cut cave in the hill. It is a two-storeyed structure consisting of a number of cells and was originally provided with a verandah in both the storeys. To the right and left of the verandahs, in the two projected wings of the Cave, there are also chambers of irregular shape. The friezes, only parts of which are before us reproduced in plaster (A to I), seem to represent some legends from Jaina mythology, but have never been satisfactorily explained. They occur on the façades of the cells, in the spaces between arches above the doorways: those marked A to C belong to the upper storey and those marked D to I, to the lower. In general treatment the friezes of the two storeys bear a remarkable family likeness to one another. But, as Sir John Marshall observes, "the style of the sculptures in the two storeys is widely different. In the upper the composition is relatively free, each group forming a coherent whole, in which the relation of the various figures to one another is well expressed; the figures themselves are posed in natural attitudes; their movement is vigorous and convincing; and from a plastic and anatomical point of view the modelling is tolerably correct. In the lower, on the other hand, the reliefs are distinctly elementary and crude"[1]. As the upper storey was excavated first, it looks as if this received considerable attention, and for its embellishment a better class of artists was engaged than that employed for the lower storey. On the whole, the Rānī Nur sculpture may be said to be typical of the School represented by the Udayagiri caves. It shows a more advanced technique than Bharhut, while the balancing of the details in the compositions, and the vigorous and animated treatment of the figures, which are specially noteworthy in the friezes of the upper storey of Rānī

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[1] There is a valuable set of photo-negatives of the sculptures in the collection of the Indian Museum, Archæological Section.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 84.

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 640-41.

Nur, are suggestive of a stage of development witnessed in the reliefs of the Sāñchī Gateways.

A.—The first figure in this cast, at the left extremity, is a man proceeding in hot haste with a tray of offering covered with garlands, etc., which is held aloft in one hand. The space between the next two arches is occupied by a highly animated scene. Three wild elephants have come out of the forest and are rushing towards a party of men and women. The people are trying to repulse the attack by means of clubs and other weapons and seem to be in a great panic. A woman is rendering assistance to a person who has dropped down, and another woman is dragging away a person who has been wounded or overpowered. Three other women stand at the right hand corner, of whom one appears with folded hands, evidently in grateful recognition of their deliverance from peril.

Between the second and third arches is another forest scene, but whether this has any connection with the foregoing is not clear. Within a rock-cut cave a man is seated with his head resting on the lap of a young lady. Outside, another female is talking to a warrior carrying a sword and a shield. His stooping head and haltering gait perhaps indicate that he is in utter exhaustion and needs a place of shelter. This reposeful picture offers a great contrast to the scene of violence that follows, in which a woman with dishevelled hair fights with a warrior. Eventually, she is overpowered by her assailant and carried off in his arms.

Between the third and fourth arches is depicted a hunting scene. The leader of the hunting party is a prince who has dismounted from his horse and is shooting an arrow from his bow at a winged deer. He appears once more, probably after a successful shoot, under a tree in the foliage of which is seated a woman who has extended her arm towards the prince.

In the next relief appears an important person, (of course, judging from his size), who is seated in a chair, and is witnessing a performance of dance and music. A woman is serving him with some refreshment out of a bowl ; there are also other women in the scene, appearing in various poses.

B.—This is an amorous scene showing a couple in three different positions : first they occupy two separate seats ; next when intimacy grows, the woman sits on the left thigh of her lover ; and finally, they enjoy relaxation on the bare ground, in a reclining position.

C.—This cast comprises only a single figure, running with a tray of flowers and garlands, being the counterpart of the one in A ; it marks the completion of the frieze.

D.—It shows merely a two-storeyed building with curvilinear roof. The building has an open verandah with railing on the upper floor, and several arched doors through each of which a woman is looking out.

E.—This relief shows a number of devotees of both sexes approaching a person who may be a saint. One of the devotees, a male, stands in adoration, while two women bring offerings. Two other women also appear in the scene, one of whom kneels in the act of salutation and another bends similarly to touch the feet of a boy who places one of his hands on her head.

F.—Here is evidently a royal procession, as indicated by the umbrella carried by one of the individuals. A horse appears at the head of the procession.

G.—There are six women in this relief, all carrying pitchers towards a place of worship. Three of them carry the pitcher on the head, one pours out the contents of her pitcher in a kneeling posture, while another also kneeling has her hands folded.

H.—It represents hills, caves and forest abounding in fruit trees. The manner in which the details are arranged vertically, one upon another, suggests the precipitous edge of a mountain. Below are a few elephants enjoying a bath, evidently at a water-fall. The artist has made here an earnest effort to reproduce natural scenery and also bring about pictorial effect in stone, a feature not met with in the earlier reliefs.

I.—This relief is in four compartments divided by three arches. Beginning from left, there is first a dwarf with ponderous ear-ornaments, resting against a tree. Next is a lady standing with folded hands, and between her and another lady who is carrying a tray of offering in one hand and a jar in another, there appears a male figure also with folded hands, evidently the husband of the two ladies. In the second compartment the devotees appear as dancing, all with folded hands. At the right hand corner is a woman carrying a lotus. The third compartment shows a dancing female under a canopy and four musicians seated near her, playing on different kinds of instruments. In the last compartment we have again a number of offering-bearers—a woman holding a tray, followed by a man with folded hands, another woman carrying a tray and a jar, and a boy standing under a tree in an attitude of adoration.

SARPA CAVE

J.—Cast J is reproduced from a relief in the Sarpa Cave which is a small one-storeyed structure consisting of a single cell and a verandah. An inscription in this cave records the donation of one Chulakama (Kshudrakarma) in characters of the 1st century B. C. The original of Cast J which occurs above the doorway of the cave consists of the hood of a three-headed serpent. The existence of this has given rise to the name ‘ Sarpa-gumphā ’ or ‘ the Serpent Cave ’.

ANANTA CAVE

K.—Cast K represents a frieze of the Ananta-gumphā or the Ananta Cave, which, from the point of view of sculpture, is one of the most interesting of the Udayagiri group. It is an one-storeyed structure consisting of a single chamber and a verandah in front. A fragmentary inscription of this cave records that it was intended for the residence of monks. The characters of the inscription are not earlier than the 1st century B. C.

The different sections of this frieze are disposed of in the same way as in the other caves, but the decoration is in some respects unique. Along with the usual railing pattern there occur the erect ‘ blue lotuses ’ alternating with the stepped merlon, motifs we have already noticed on the Bharhut Railing. Moreover, each of the arches bears on the top a trident-like symbol and at the sides a pair of triple-headed serpents. Besides, there are six flying Vidyādharas carrying offerings, in the space between the arches. In a semi-circular compartment under one of these arches is a female figure standing on a lotus, already familiar to us from the Bharhut Stūpa. She is bathed by two elephants, each standing on a lotus, exactly as in the Bharhut reliefs (*cf.* above p. 21, n. 1). Under the other arch is a tree, crowned by an umbrella, within a railing encircled by worshippers. A general feature that may be noted here in connection with these decorative friezes of the Udayagiri caves is that the arch-fronts are also ornamented with various designs. In the present frieze one of the two arch-fronts is relieved by a band of birds and the other by a band of animals.

Gaṇeśa Cave

L.—Frieze L is from the Gaṇeśa Cave, a small one-storeyed structure, consisting of two cells and a verandah. It shows reliefs in two compartments separated by the usual arches. In one of the compartments is represented a battle scene, in which a party mounted on an elephant is pursued by a number of individuals armed with weapons. The foremost of the pursuers is seen killed by one of the riders. The middle of the relief shows that the battle is over and the party has dismounted from the elephant. At the end of the relief is a lady in a half reclining posture.

In the other compartment is a prostrate figure of a warrior under a tree in front of a cave, the head of the warrior resting on his right forearm. A man is being led by an amazon towards the prostrate figure, and at the right end is seen a woman being carried off in the arms of a man. This is similar tò the representation in Frieze A of the Rānī Nur Cave.

Jayā Vijayā Cave

M.—The last frieze, marked M, is from the Jayā Vijayā Cave which is a two-storeyed structure. As in Frieze A of Rānī Nur there are two figures in this frieze, one at each end, carrying a tray of offerings; one of them carries also a bunch of lotuses. In the centre is a tree within railing surrounded by worshippers and offering-bearers. Over the tree is an umbrella, as in Frieze K of the Ananta Cave.

5. SĀRNĀTH

EXHIBITS IN CASE NO. 2, LONG GALLERY

A few fragments of sculpture and architectural pieces of the Maurya and Śuṅga periods from Sārnāth are exhibited in Showcase No. 2 in the Long Gallery of the Museum. These were excavated by H. Hargreaves in 1914-15 from the area west of the Main Shrine at Sārnāth which "was found closely packed with stone fragments, the debris of monuments ranging from Maurya times to the 1st century B. C."[1] Further operations at the same spot conducted by R. Chanda[2] in 1927-28 also resulted in the discovery of similar pieces. The collection from Sārnāth was brought into the Museum in 1935.

9485-9489.—The collection includes five fragments of an abacus bearing the high Mauryan polish; these must have belonged to Asokan pillars which no longer exist. Three of them (9485-87) represent part of a frieze consisting of a row of geese, similar in conception and style to those on the Rāmpurwā Lion Capital. The other two fragments (9488-9499) represent a series of flowers placed sideways.

9491-9492.—These are evidently two fragments of capitals, which, though not bearing the polish, may be ascribed to the Mauryan period. Fragment 9492 is decorated with the honey-suckle and lotus motifs, and has the Brāhmī letter *bha* of the Asokan type engraved on one face. 9491 bears a relief showing the figure of a bird carrying a flower in its beak. The concave surface below is decorated with a floral pattern recalling the honey-suckle motif.

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[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1914-15, pp. 110-111.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 97 and Pl. XXXVII, 6.

9493 and 9510.—9493 is a fragment of a cross-bar with part of honey-suckle ornament. The other piece,[1] 9510, is a complete cross-bar (1′ 4″×10″) on one face of which is a medallion showing a honey-suckle similar in treatment to the ornament on the abacus of the Rāmpurwā Bull Capital.

9495.—Fragment of a female figure in grey speckled sandstone (1′ 5″ ht.). The head is missing. The exaggerated breasts, narrow waist and large hips of the figure are specially to be noted. She leans on her left foot, the right knee being slightly bent forward. She wears a girdle, below which there are indications of a transparent drapery and of a necklace consisting of two *Triratna* ornaments separated by a bead. (*Cf.* similar ornaments on the Bharhut Rail). From her right arm hangs a heavy garland. The figure may be assigned to the 2nd century B. C.

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[1] This is in the Bharhut Room, fixed to its East wall.

APPENDIX

THE BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

[The texts and translations given below are only of those inscriptions that are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.]

2 Yasika..................
" The gift of Yasika (?). "

8 Sonāya dānaṁ thabho
" The gift of a pillar by Sonā."

10 Bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dānaṁ
" The gift of a pillar by the *Bhadaṁta* (Reverend) Mahila."

13 Phagudevāye bhichhuniye dānaṁ
" The gift of the nun Phalgudevī."

14 Naṁd[i]nagarikaya Idadevāya dānaṁ
" The gift of Indradevī, from Nandinagara."

16 ......kasa rāño bhayaye Nāgara[kh]itāye (dānaṁ)
" The gift of Nāgarakshitā, the wife of King....."

30 Bhadaṁta-Valakasa bhanakasa dānaṁ thabho
" The gift of a pillar by the *Bhadaṁta* Valaka, a Reciter."

31 Atimutasa danaṁ
" The gift of Atimukta."

32 Visanasa dānaṁ
" The gift of Vishaṇṇa."

33 Kākaṁdiya Somāya bhichhuniya dānaṁ
" The gift of the nun Somā of Kākandī."

34 Samanāyā bhikhuniyā Chudaṭhīlikāyā dānaṁ
" The gift of the nun Samanā from Chudaṭhīla."

40 Karahakaṭa Samikasa dāna thabho
" The gift of a pillar by Samika from Karahakaṭa."

43 (*a*) Yakhini Sudasana
" The Yakshiṇī Sudarśanā."

(*b*) Bhadata-Kanakasa bhanakasa thabho dānaṁ Chikulaniyasa
" The gift of a pillar by the *Bhadaṁta* Kanaka, a Reciter, of Chikulana."

44 Pāṭaliputā Mahīdasenasa dānaṁ
" The gift of Mahīndrasena from Pāṭaliputra."

45 Isirakhitasa dānaṁ
“The gift of Ṛishirakshita.”

46 Devarakhitasa dānaṁ
“The gift of Devarakshita.”

62[1] (*a*) Aya-Paṁthakasa thaṁbho dānaṁ
“The gift of a pillar by *Ārya*-Paṁthaka.”

(*b*) Chulakokā devatā
“The goddess Chulakokā.”

64 Jeṭhabhadrasa dānaṁ
“The gift of Jyeshṭhabhadra.”

65 Koḍāya Yakhiyā dānaṁ
“The gift of Yakshī from Koḍā.”

67 Pāṭaliputā Nāgasenāya Koḍiyāniyā dānaṁ [2]
“The gift of Nāgasenā of the Kauṇḍinya (family) from Pāṭaliputra.”

69 Purikayā Idadevāya dānaṁ
“The gift of Indradevī from Purikā.”

70 Pāṭaliputā Koḍiyāniyā Sakaṭadevāyā dānaṁ
“The gift of Saṁkaṭadevī of the Kauṇḍinya family from Pāṭaliputra.”

71 Avisanasa dānaṁ
“The gift of Avishaṇṇa.”

73 Aya-Chulasa sutaṁtikasa Bhogavaḍhaniyasa dānaṁ
“The gift of *Ārya*-Kshudra of Bhogavardhana, who is versed in the *Suttantas*.”

76 Supāvaso Yakho
“The Yaksha Supāvasa.”

77 Chulanasa dānaṁ
“The gift of Chulana.”

78 Ujhikāya dana
“The gift of Ujhikā.”

79 Aya-Apikinakasa dānaṁ
“The gift of *Ārya*-Apikinaka.”

83 Saghilasa dāna suchi
“The gift of a cross-bar by Saṅghila.”

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[1] Inscriptions (*a*) and (*b*) constitute a single line.

[2] The last five letters are carried above the first line for want of space.

84 Bhadata-Devasenasa dānaṁ
"The gift of the *Bhadaṁta* Devasena."

85 Chudaṭhīlikāyā Nāgadevāyā bhikhuniyi (dānaṁ)
"The gift of the nun Nāgadevī of Chudaṭhīla."

87 (*a*) Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi
"The Bodhi tree of the Lord Vipaśyin."

(*b*) Moragirimha Nāgilāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṁ thabhā
"The gift of pillars by Nāgilā, a nun from Mayūragiri."

90 (Dha)marakhitaya dāna suchi
"The gift of a cross-bar by Dharmarakshitā."

91 Chudaṭhīlikāyā Kujarāyā dānaṁ
"The gift of Kuñjarā of Chudaṭhīla."

92 Māharasa aṁtevāsino Aya-Sāmakasa thabho dānaṁ
"The gift of a pillar by Māhara, the pupil of *Ārya*-Sāmaka."

93 Bhagavato ūkraṁti
"The Descent of the Lord."

96 ......Himavate I....

99 Bibikanadikaṭa-Budhino gahapatino dānaṁ
"The gift of the householder Buddhi from Bimbikānadīkaṭa (the basin of the river Bimbikā)."

101 Bo[dhigu]tasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Bodhigupta."

102 Ghosāye dānaṁ
"The gift of Ghoshā."

103 Muḍasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Muṇḍa."

104 Bhadata-Budharakhitasa Saṭupadānasa dānaṁ thabho
"The gift of a pillar by the *Bhadaṁta* Buddharakshita of Saṭupadāna (?)."

105 Kupiro Yakho
"The Yaksha Kubera."

106 Chadā Yakhi
"The Yakshī Chandrā."

108 Vedisā Chāpadevāyā Revatimita-bhāriyāya paṭhama-thabho dānaṁ
"The gift of the First Pillar by Chāpadevī, the wife of Revatīmitra from Vidiśā."

114 Dhamaguta-matu Pusadevaya dānaṁ
"The gift of Pushyadevī, mother of Dharmagupta."

117 (*a*) Bhadaṁtāso Aya-Bhutārakhitasa Khujatidukiyasa dānaṁ
"The gift of *Ārya*-Bhūtarakshita of Khujatiduka."

(*b*) Bhagavato Vesabhuno bodhi sālo
"The Bodhi tree of the Lord Viśvabhū."

119 Vedisāto Bhutarakhitasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Bhūtarakshita of Vidiśā."

120 Isānasa dāna[1]
"The gift of Īśāna."

123 Aya-Gorakhitasa thabho dānaṁ
"The gift of a pillar by *Ārya*-Gorakshita."

125 Sirimasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Śrīmat."

126 Sagharakhitasa mātāpituna aṭhāyā dānaṁ
"The gift of Saṅgharakshita for the sake of his parents."

127 Budharakhitasa pacha-nekāyikasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Buddharakshita, who is versed in the Five Nikāyas."

129 (*a*) Pusasa thaṁbho dānaṁ
"The gift of a pillar by Pushya."

(*b*) Miga-jātakaṁ
"The Episode of the Deer."

131 Budharakhitāye dānaṁ bhichhuniye
"The gift of the nun Buddharakshitā."

132 Purikāyā Seṭaka-mātu dānaṁ
"The gift of the mother of Seṭaka from Purikā."

133 Bhutaye bhichhuniye dānaṁ
"The gift of the nun Bhūtā."

137 Dhutsa suchi dāno
"The gift of a cross-bar by Dhūrta."

138[2] Go[s]ālasa . .
"(The gift) of Gosāla."

141 Sirimā devata
"The goddess Sirimā (Śrīmatī)."

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[1] The inscription is engraved in two places on a cross-bar.

[2] Inner face of No. 147.

144 (*a*) Suchilomo Yakho
"The Yaksha Sūchiloma."

(*b*) ....to bhikhuniyā thabho dānaṁ
"The gift of a pillar by the nun....from..."

147[1] Gosālasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Gosāla."

148[2] Sihasa suchi dānaṁ
"The gift of a cross-bar by Siṁha."

150 Dabhinikāya Mahamukhisa dhitu Badhikaya bhichhuniya dānaṁ
"The gift of the nun Badhikā, daughter of Mahāmukhi from Dabhina."

156 (*a*) Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭi-saṁthatena ketā
"Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Jetavana garden, purchased by spreading over crores (of gold coins)."

(*b*) Gadhakuṭi
"The Fragrant Cottage."

(*c*) Kosabakuṭi
"The Perfumed Cottage."

173 Moragirimā Ghātila-matu dānaṁ
"The gift of Ghāṭila's mother from Mayūragiri."

174 Aya-Punāvasuno suchi dānaṁ
"The gift of a cross-bar by *Ārya*-Punarvasu."

175 Mitasa suchi dānaṁ
"The gift of a cross-bar by Mitra."

177 Moragirimhā Thupadāsāsa dānaṁ thabhā
"The gift of pillars by Stūpadāsa from Mayūragiri."

179 Isidatasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Ṛishidatta."

180 Budharakhitasa rupakārakasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Buddharakshita, the sculptor."

181 Sirisapada Isirakhitāya dānaṁ
"The gift of Ṛishirakshita from Śirīshapadra."

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[1] Outer face of No. 138.

[2] Mentioned by Anderson (*Catalogue*, Part I, p. 41), but not by Lüders and Barua.

182 (*a*) Vejayaṁto pāsāde
(*b*) Sudhaṁmā deva-sabhā
(*c*) Bhagavato chūḍā-maho
(*a*) "The Vaijayanta Palace (of Śakra)."
(*b*) "The Assembly Hall of the gods."
(*c*) "The Festival of the Hair-lock of the Lord."

183 (*a*) Mahāsāmāyikāya Arahaguto devaputo vokato bhagavato sāsani paṭisaṁdhi

"In the great assembly (of the gods), the inauguration of the Law of the Divine Master is being announced by the angel Arhadgupta."

(*b*) Bhadatasa Aya-Isipālitasa bhānakasa navakamikasa dānaṁ
"The gift of the *Bhadaṁta Ārya*-Ṛishipālita, a Reciter and Superintendent of constructions."

184 Ajātasata Bhagavato vaṁdat[e]
"Ajātaśatru worships the Lord."

195 (*a*) Dhamarakhitasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Dharmarakshita."

(*b*) Chakavāko Nāgarājā
"The Nāga King Chakravāka."

197 Viruḍako Yakho
"The Yaksha Virūḍhaka."

199 Gaṁgito Yakho
"The Yaksha Gaṁgita."

200 Isirakhitasa suci dānaṁ
"The gift of a cross-bar by Ṛishirakshita."

202 (*a*) Bhadata-Samakasa thabho dānaṁ
"The gift of a pillar by the *Bhadaṁta* Samaka."

(*b*) Yavamajhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ
"The Episode of Yavamadhyaka."

214 Ajakālako Yakho
"The Yaksha Ajakālaka."

222 ....kaya bhichhuniya dānaṁ
"The gift of the nun...."

225 Isisiṁgi[ya-jātakaṁ]
"The Episode of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga."

227 Yakhilasa suchi dāna
"The gift of a cross-bar by Yakshila."

237 Nāgaye bhichhuniye dānaṁ
"The gift of Nāgā, a nun."

243 Dhamagutasa dānaṁ thabho
"The gift of a pillar by Dharmagupta."

245 Bībikanadikaṭa-Suladhasa asavārikāsa dānaṁ
"The gift by the trooper Sulabdha from Bimbikānadī-kaṭa (the basin of the river Bimbikā)."

247 Seriyā putasa Bhāranidevasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Bharaṇīdeva, son of Śrī."

248 Agirakhitasa[1] Bhojakaṭakasa suchi dānaṁ
"The gift of a cross-bar by Agnirakshita of Bhojakaṭa."

249 Saghamitasa Bodhichakasa dānaṁ
"The gift of Saṅghamitra, an inhabitant of Bodhichakra."

250 Karahakaṭa Aya-Bhutakasa thabho dānaṁ
"The gift of a pillar by *Ārya*-Bhūtaka from Karahakaṭa."

252 Purikāyā Sāmāya dānaṁ
"The gift of Sāmā from Purikā."

253 (*a*) Laṭuvā-jāta[ka]
"The Episode of the Laṭuvā quail."

(*b*) Nadutaraya dāna suchi
"The gift of a cross-bar by Nandottarā."

256 Bramhadevo mānavako
"The young man Brahmadeva."

260 Vitura-Punakiya-jatakaṁ
"The Episode of Vidura and Pūrṇaka."

261 Mitadevāye dānaṁ
"The gift of Mitradevī."

262 Bhadata-Samikasa Therākuṭiyasa dānaṁ
"The gift of the *Bhadaṁta* Samika of Sthavirakūṭa (or Sthavirakuṭī)."

263 Aya-Jātasa peṭakino suchi dānaṁ
"The gift of a cross-bar by *Ārya*-Jāta, a master in the *Piṭakas*."

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[1] *Cf.* Lüders, No. 861; correctly read here for the first time.

264 (*a*) Bhagavato Dhamachakaṁ
(*b*) Rājā Pasenaji Kosalo
(*a*) "The Wheel of Law of the Lord."
(*b*) "King Prasenajit of Kosala."

265 (*a*) Erapato Nāgarājā
"The Nāga King Erāpata."

(*b*) Erapato Nāgarājā bhagavato vadate
"Erāpata, the Nāga King, worships the Lord."

(*c*) Aya-Isidinasa bhānakasa dānaṁ
"The gift of *Ārya*-Ṛishidatta, a Reciter."

266 (*a*) Bahuhathiko
(*b*) Bahuhathiko nigodho Naḍode
(*c*) Susupālo koḍāyo Veḍuko arāmako
(*a*) "(The place of) many elephants."
(*b*) "The Banyan tree on (Mount) Naḍoda with many elephants (worshipping)."
(*c*) "Śiśupāla, the fort-keeper; Veḍuka, the gardener."

268 Kaḍariki
"(The Episode of) Kaḍarikī ('residing in the cave')."

269 Vijapi Vijādharo
"(The Episode) of Vijapi, the Vidyāḍhara."

270 Bhagavato Sakamunino bodho
"The Enlightenment of the Lord Śākyamuni."

271-272 (*a*) Purathima (di)sa Sudhāvāsā de(va)[t]ā
"On the eastern side, the deities of the Śuddhāvāsa heaven."

(*b*) Utaraṁ disa [ti]ni savata-nisisā.
"On the northern side, three classes of all-pervading (Rūpa-brahma deities)."

(*c*) Dakhinaṁ disa chha-Kāmāvachara-sahasāni
"On the southern side, six thousand (deities belonging to) the Kāmāvachāra Heavens."

273 (*a*) Alaṁbusā achharā
"Alambushā, the heavenly nymph."
(*b*) Misakosi achharā
"Miśrakeśī, the heavenly nymph."
(*c*) Padumāvat[i] achharā
"Padmāvatī, the heavenly nymph."
(*d*) Sabhada achharā
"Subhadrā, the heavenly nymph."

(*e*) Sāḍika-saṁmadaṁ turaṁ devānaṁ
" The music of the gods joyous with dance."

280 Samidatāya dānaṁ
" The gift of Svāmidattā."

289 Nāga-jātaka
" The Episode of the Elephant."

290 Mugaphakiya-jātaka
" The Episode of the Dumb Being."

291 (*a*) Vedisā Anurādhāya dānaṁ
" The gift of Anurādhā from Vidiśā."

(*b*) Chhadaṁtiya-jātakaṁ
" The Episode of the Six-tusked (elephant)."

292 Tikoṭiko chakamo
" The Triangular Walk."

293 (*a*) Bhagavato Kakusadhasa bodhi
" The Bodhi tree of the Lord Krakuchchhanda."

(*b*) Purikāya dāyakana dānaṁ
" The gift of the donors from Purikā."

294 Bhagavato Konāgamenasa bodhi
" The Bodhi tree of the Lord Kanakamuni."

295 (*a*) Bhagavato Kasapasa bodhi
" The Bodhi tree of the Lord Kāśyapa."

(*b*) Chekulana-Saghamitasa thabho dānaṁ
" The gift of a pillar by Saṅghamitra, an inhabitant of Chikulana."

298 Idasāla-guha
" The Indraśāla Cave."

302 Vedisā Phagudevasa dānaṁ
" The gift of Phalgudeva from Vidiśā."

303 Moragirimhā Pusāyā dānaṁ thabhā
" The gift of pillars by Pushyā from Mayūragiri."

310 Bhojakaṭakāya Diganagaya bhichhuniya dānaṁ
" The gift of the nun Diṅnāgā from Bhojakaṭa."

327 Sujato ga-huto jataka
" The Episode of Sujāta, the Cow-feeder."

329 Biḍala-jatara(ka) Kukuṭa-jataka
" The Episode of the Cat. The Episode of the Cock."

331 Daḍanikamo chakama
"The Daṇḍanishkrama Walk."

333 Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigāla ñati
"The woman Āshāḍhā, the jackals in a cremation ground, (her) kinsman."

337 Isi-migo jataka
"The Episode of the sage-like Deer."

339 Miga-samadakaṁ chetaya
"The Shrine at Migasammatā."

346 Aya-Nāgadevasa dānaṁ
"The gift of *Ārya*-Nāgadeva."

356 Maghādeviya-jataka
"The Episode of Maghādeva."

358 Dighatapasi sise anusāsati
"The ascetic Dīrghatapasvin teaches his pupils."

360 Abode chātiyaṁ
"The *Chaitya* on (Mount) Arbuda."

362 (*a*) Bhisaharaniya-jataka
"The Episode of the Lotus-fibre-stealing."
(*b*) Karahakaṭa-nigamasa dāna
"The gift of the township of Karahakaṭa."

364 Vaḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate
"Vaḍuka extracts juice on Mount Naḍoda."

366 Jabū Naḍode pavate
"The Rose-apple tree on Mount Naḍoda."

391 Usu(kāro) Janako rāja Sivala-devi
"The Arrow-maker, King Janaka, Queen Sivalā."

408 Chitupāda-sila
"The Miracle-producing Rock."

412 Uda-jataka
"The Episode of the Otters."

418 Sechha-jataka
"The Water-drawing Episode."

424 Kinara-jātakaṁ
"The Kinnara Episode."

426 Jaṭila-sabhā
"The Assembly Hall of the ascetics with matted hair."

428 (1) Suganaṁ raje raño Gāgīputasa Visadevasa
(2) p[o]teṇa Gotiputasa Āgarajusa puteṇa
(3) Vāchhiputena Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ toraṇaṁ
(4) silākaṁmaṁto cha upaṁṇa(no)

"During the reign of the Śuṅgas the gateway has been caused to be made and the stone work executed by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gauptīputra Āgaraju, (and) grandson of King Gārgīputra Viśvadeva."

437[1] (1) Bahaḍato Jaṭira-natuno Isi-
(2) rakhita-putasa Anaṁdasa thabho
(3) dānaṁ

"The gift of a pillar by Ānaṁda, son of Ṛishirakshita and grandson of Jaṭira (Jaṭila), from Bahaḍa."

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[1] Lüders, List No. 721. The words *Bahaḍato Jaṭira-natuno* are read here for the first time.

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NUMERICAL INDEX

ENTRANCE HALL

Number and Provenance	Page
N. S. 3596 Sārnāth	4
N. S. 3791A Pārkham	8
1795 Besnagar	9
1796-1797 Do	7
2676 Rāmparwā	5
6297 Do	5
6298-6299 Do	4
P-1 Patna	6
P-2 Do	7
S-39 Sāñchī	9

BHARHUT ROOM, ENTRANCE

Number and Provenance	Page
2 Bharhut	24
4 Do	24, 27
7 Do	24
9 Do	23, 24

BHARHUT ROOM

Number and Provenance	Page
11 Bharhut	22, 24
30 Do	23, 25
35 Do	36
43 Do	22, 24
62 Do	22, 25
76 Do	22, 25
81 Do	48
87 Do	46, 47
91 Do	53
93 Do	41

BHARHUT ROOM—*contd.*

Number and Provenance	Page
95 Bharhut	48
105 Do	22, 25
106 Do	22, 25
108 Do	27
111 Do	27
117 Do	46, 47
119 Do	48
129 Do	40
141 Do	22, 26, 28
144 Do	22, 26
156 Do	45
164 Do	48
182 Do	44
183 Do	44
184 Do	45
186-88 Do	45
191 Do	49
195 Do	22, 26
197 Do	22, 26
199 Do	22, 26
202 Do	38
214 Do	22, 25
225 Do	38
243 Do	23, 25
253 Do	30
255 Do	49
256 Do	49
257 Do	37

BHARHUT ROOM—*contd.*

Number and Provenance		Page
258	Bharhut	37
259	Do	37
260	Do	37
264	Do	41
265	Do	42
266	Do	49
267	Do	50
268	Do	50
269	Do	28, 50
270	Do	42
271	Do	43
272	Do	42
273	Do	43
289	Do	36
290	Do	36
291	Do	38
292	Do	50
293	Do	46, 47
294	Do	46, 47
295	Do	46, 47
298	Do	45
300	Do	15
306	Do	23, 26
307	Do	27
308	Do	50
309	Do	50
310	Do	27
313	Do	50
314	Do	51
315	Do	51
316	Do	51
317	Do	39
318	Do	29

BHARHUT ROOM—*contd.*

Number and Provenance		Page
319	Bharhut	39
327	Do	30
329	Do	30
331	Do	51
332	Do	29
333	Do	51
337	Do	31
338	Do	29
339	Do	52
343	Do	31
346	Do	29
356	Do	31
358	Do	52
362	Do	31
364	Do	32
366	Do	33
367	Do	12, note
376	Do	33
379	Do	33
381	Do	33
383	Do	33
384	Do	46
386	Do	52
388	Do	52
391	Do	34
393	Do	52
395	Do	53
402	Do	53
404	Do	34
406	Do	35
408	Do	53
412	Do	35
414	Do	53

BHARHUT ROOM—*contd.*

Number and Provenance	Page
418 Bharhut	35
422 Do	35, 53
424 Do	36
426 Do	53
B Buddha-Gayā	66
C Do	66
D Do	67
E Do	67
F Do	67
J Do	67
K Do	68
L Do	68
M Do	68
Q Do	69
Z Do	69
1 Do	69
2 Do	69
3 Do	69
4 Do	69
5 Do	69
6 Do	70
8 Do	70
9 Do	70
10 Do	70
12 Do	70
14 Do	70
15 Do	70
17 Do	70
18 Do	70
20 Do	70
23 Do	71
24 Do	71

BHARHUT ROOM—*contd.*

Number and Provenance	Page
26 Buddha-Gayā	71
27 Do	71
29 Do	71
30 Do	71
31 Do	71
32 Do	71
34 Do	71
35 Do	71
37 Do	71
40 Do	72
42 Do	72
43 Do	72
47 Do	72
48 Do	72
5571 Patna	74, 75
5572 Do	74
5573 Do	75
5574 Do	74
5575 Do	74
5576 Do	74
5577 Do	75
5578 Do	75
5580 Do	75
5582 Do	73
5583 Do	73
5586 Do	75
5587 Do	75
5606-5607 Do	74
N. S. 3 Rājgir	73
S. 1 Sāñchī	59
S. 2 Do	60
S. 3 Do	61

BHARHUT ROOM—*contd.*

Number and Provenance	Page
S. 6 Sāñchī	58, 64
S. 12 Do	63
S. 13 Do	61
S. 14 Do	63
S. 15 Do	59
S. 16 Do	62
S. 17 Do	62
S. 18 Do	62
9510 Sārnāth	84
A Udayagiri	78
B Do	79
C Do	79
D Do	79
E Do	79
F Do	80
G Do	80
H Do	80

BHARHUT ROOM—*concld.*

Number and Provenance	Page
I Udayagiri	80
J Do	81
K Do	81
L Do	82
M Do	82
LONG GALLERY, SHOWCASE No. 2	
9485 Sārnāth	83
9486 Do	83
9487 Do	83
9488 Do	83
9489 Do	83
9491 Do	83
9492 Do	83
9493 Do	84
9495 Do	84
WESTERN CORRIDOR, GROUND FLOOR	
429 Bharhut	15
436 Do	23, 27

INDEX

Ajakālaka, a Yaksha, 25

Ajātaśatru, visit of, 45

Alambusa-jātaka, 38

Ananta Cave, 81-82

Anāthapiṇḍika, 46

Apsaras, 43.

Ārāmadūsaka-jātaka, 34

Arhadgupta (Arahaguta), an angel, 44-45

Asaḍā, the woman in cremation ground, 51

Asadisa-jātaka, 33

Ascetics and devotees, 53

Asokan art, 1-4

Aśvamukhī, a Yakshī, 74

'Bactrian camel', 19

Bactrian School, 2

Basket-carriers, 52

Besnagar Female statue, 7

Besnagar *Kalpadruma*, 9-10

Bhallika, a merchant, 48

Bharhut, art of, 54-56

Bharhut collection, history of, 11-12

Bharhut, decorative reliefs of, 15-16, 17-22

Bharhut gateway, decoration of, 15

Bharhut inscriptions (Appendix), 85-95

Bharhut inscriptions, dates of, 14

Bharhut railing, decoration of, 15-16

Bharhut railing, life-size figures on, 22-29

Bharhut Stūpa, 12-13

Bhisa-jātaka, 31-32

Bodhisattva's hair-lock, worship of, 44, 63

Brahmadeva *mānavaka*, 49

Buddha, Enlightenment of, 42

Buddha figure, its absence in early Indian art, 41

Buddha-Gayā railing, 64-72 ; art of, 65-66

Buddha, life scenes of, 40-46

Buddha's decease, 50

Bull in water, 50

Bullocks and a cart, 48

Chakravāka, a Nāga king, 26

Chammasāṭaka-jātaka, 33

Chandrā, a Yakshī, 26

Chāpadevī, wife of Revatīmitra, a donatrix, 27

Chhaddanta-jātaka, 38

Chitupāda-sila, 53

Chulakokā *devatā*, 25

Chunār sandstone, 3

Dabbhapuppha-jātaka, 35

Daḍanikama-chakama, 51

Darius, 2

Decorative reliefs of Bharhut, 15-16, 17-22
Dhanabhūti, inscription of, 13
Dighatapasi, 52
Divine and Semi-divine Beings at Bharhut, 22-24
Dress of Bharhut figures, 28
Dūbhiya-makkaṭa-jātaka, 35

Elephant dragged by monkeys, 48-49
Elephants in procession, 50
Enlightenment, 42
Erāpata, worship by, 42

Fertility Goddess, 21, 64
Folk Art, 54

Gahapati-jātaka, 52-53
Gaṇeśa Cave, 82
Gaṅgita, a Yaksha, 26
Garuḍa standard, 27
Gold leaves, figures on, 54

Hair-lock, worship of, 44, 63
Heliodoros, a Vaishṇava, 27
Hell, 50
Hellenistic influence on Asokan art, 2
Honey offering, 59-60

Indraśāla Cave, Śakra's visit to, 45

Jātakas at Bharhut, 29-40
Jaṭila-sabhā, 53
Jayā Vijayā Cave, 82-83
Jetavana, purchase of, 46

Kakkaṭa-jātaka, 36
Kalpadruma, 9-10
Kanakamuni, 47
Kapilavastu, Buddha's reception at, 61-62
Kapota-jātaka, 35
Kāśyapa, 48
Kāśyapa of Urubilva, 46, 62
Kharoshṭhī letters on Bharhut gateway, 15
Kinnara-jātaka, 36
Krakuchchhanda, 47
Kubera, a Yaksha, 26
Kukkuṭa-jātaka, 30

Lakshmī in early Indian art, 21
Laṭukika-jātaka, 30

Mahābodhi-jātaka, 39-40
Mahājanaka-jātaka, 34
Mahākapi-jātaka, 36, 60
Mahākapi-jātaka II, 39
Mahā-ummagga-jātaka, 38-39
Makhādeva-jātaka, 31
Māṇibhadra, a Yaksha, 7, 8
Maṇikaṇṭha-jātaka, 33-34
Māra's defeat, 42-43
Māyā, dream of, 41, 61

Miga-potaka-jātaka, 31
Miga-samadaka-chetaya, 52
Monetary transaction, 52
Monkey barber, 49
Mother-Goddess, 21
Mūga-pakkha-jātaka, 36-37

Naḍoda mountain, banyan tree on, 49
Nairañjanā, Buddha's crossing of, 63
Nigrodha-miga-jātaka, 31

Ornaments of Bharhut figures, 28

Pārkham Yaksha, 8
Past Buddhas, 46-48
Patna, Griffins from, 73
Patna, Mauryan wooden beams from, 74
Patna, railings from, 74-75
Patna, Yaksha statues from, 6-7
Persian influence on Asokan art, 1-2
Perso-Hellenic influence, 2
Prasenajit, visit of, 41
Prince talking to lady, 53

Rājgir, serpent-hood from, 73
Rāmpurwā Bull capital, 5-6
Rāmpurwā Copper bolt, 5
Rāmpurwā Lion capital, 4-5
Rānī Nur Cave, 76-81
Revatīmitra of Vidiśā, 27
Ruru-jātaka, 40

Śālabhañjikā play, 20, 23, 63
Sāñchī, art of, 57-59
Sāñchī bracket figure, 63-64
Sāñchī reliefs, 57-64
Sārnāth Lion Capital, 4
Sārnāth, sculptures and architectural pieces from, 83-84
Sārnāth stone receptacle, 9
Sarpa Cave, 81
Sirimā *devatā*, 26
Śrāvastī, honey offering at, 59-60
Stone-rings, figures on, 18, 54
Stūpa, dedication of, 59
Sūchiloma, a Yaksha, 26
Sudarśanā, a Yakshī, 24
Sudharmā, the Divine Assembly Hall, 44
Sujāta-jātaka, 30
Śuṅga dynasty, 13
Supāvasa, a Yaksha, 25
Śyāma-jātaka, 61

Temple, 53
Tikoṭika-chakama, 50
Trapusha, a merchant, 48
Trayastriṁśa heaven, Buddha's descent from, 45

Udayagiri caves, casts of friezes from, 75-83; age of, 76
Urubilva Miracles, 46, 62

Vaḍika, story of, 32
Vaijayanta Palace, 44
Vessantara-jātaka, 35
Vidhura-paṇḍita-jātaka, 37-38
Vidiśā, 27
Vidyādhara couple, 50
Vipaśyin, 47
Virūḍhaka, a Yaksha, 26
Viśvabhū, 47

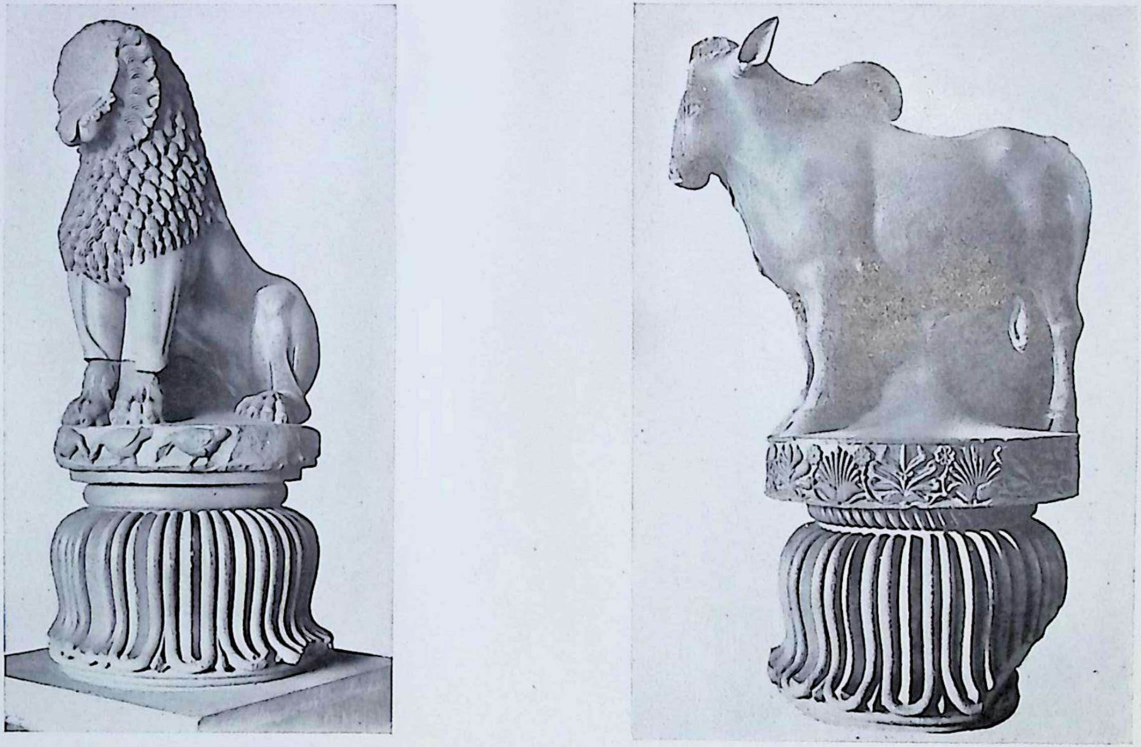
Warrior-god, 24-25
Western Asiatic motifs, 18-19

Xerxes, 2

पुस्तकालय

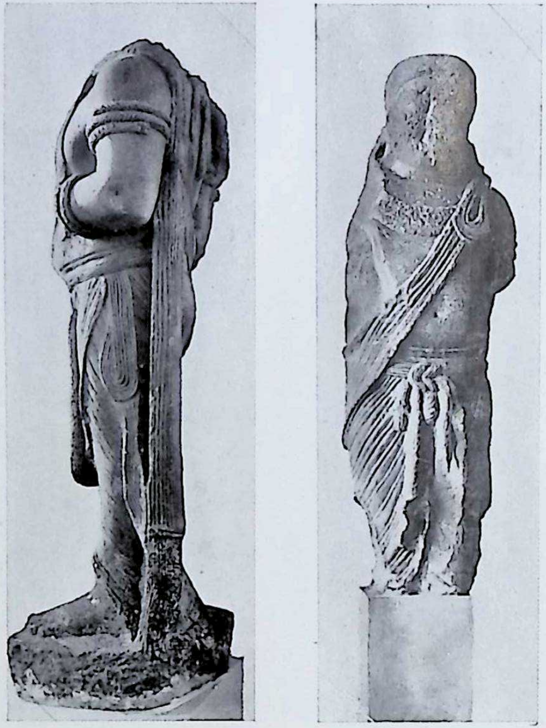
MGIPC—M—III-9-31—4-1-37—1,500.

Pl. I


a *b*

Capitals of Aśoka Pillars from Rāmpurwā

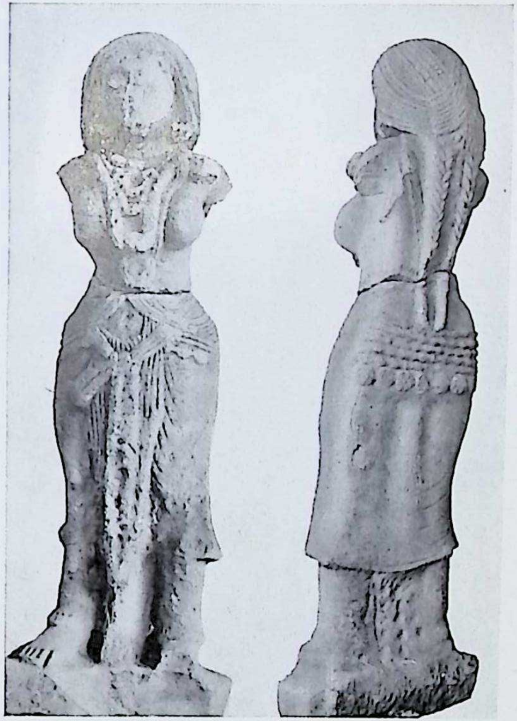
Pl. II



a

b

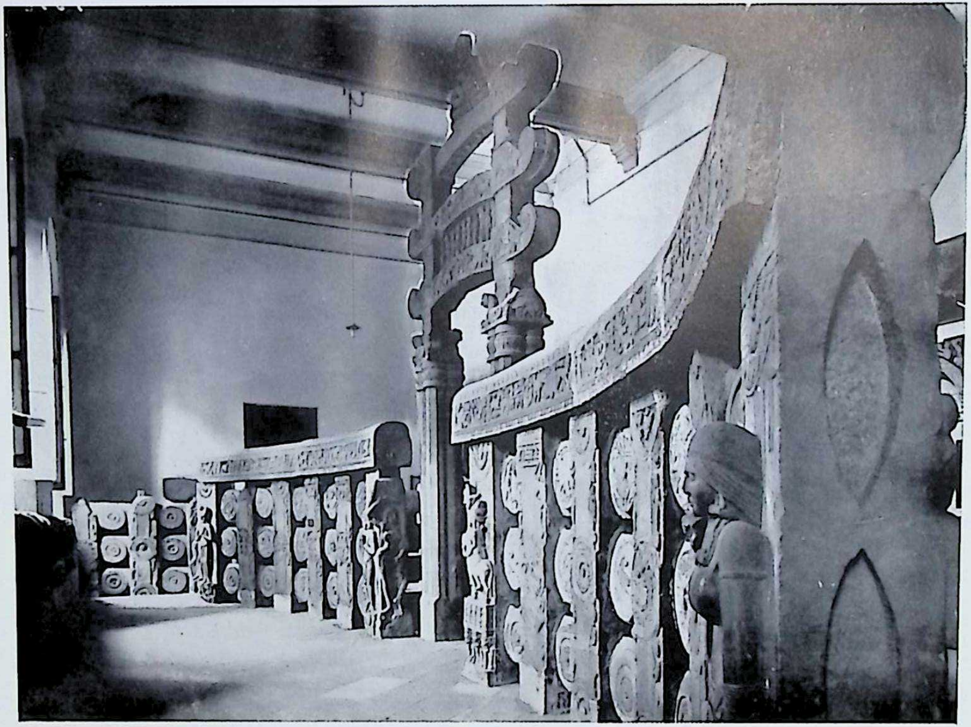
a-b Yaksha Statues from Patna



c

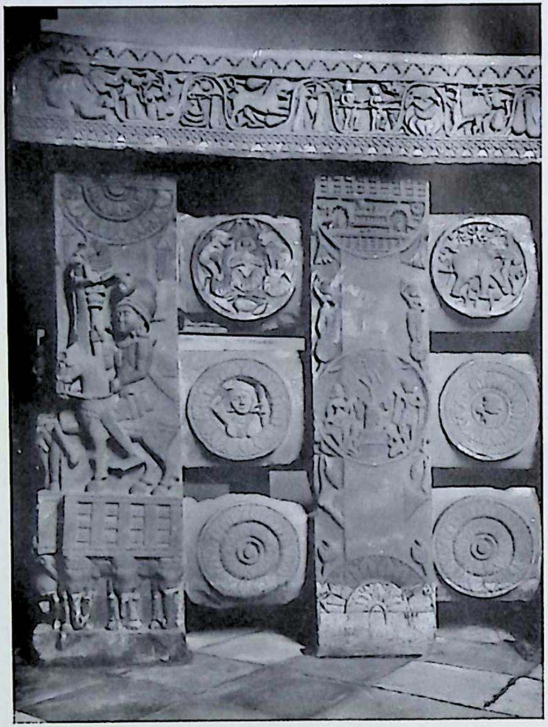
d

c-d Yakshī Statue from Besnagar

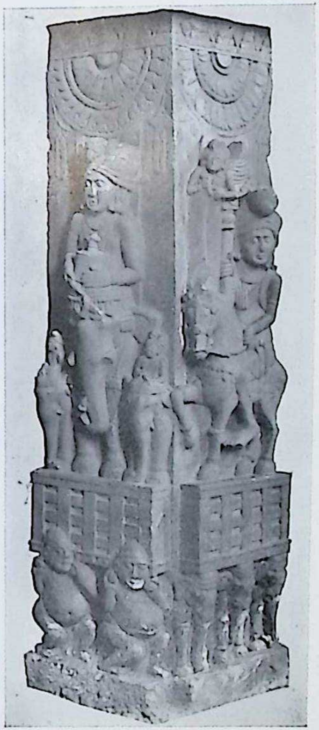


General view of Bharhut Railing

Pl. IV



a

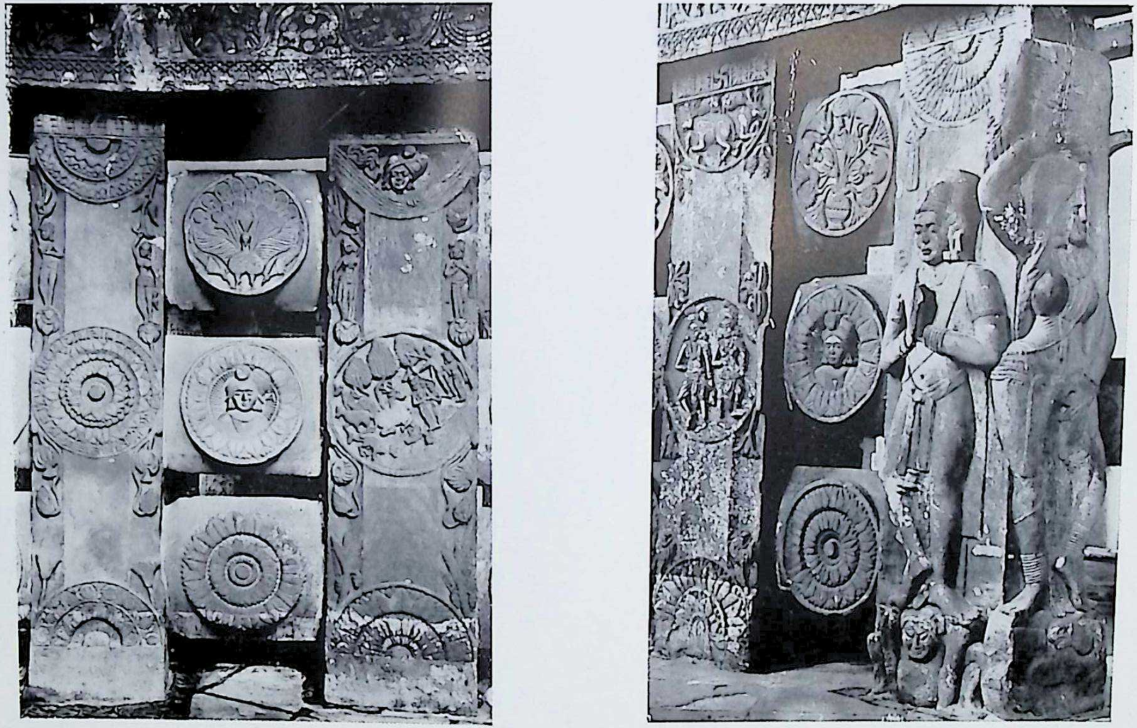


b

Bharhut: *a* Detailed view of Railing

b Details of corner-pillar of *a*

Pl. V

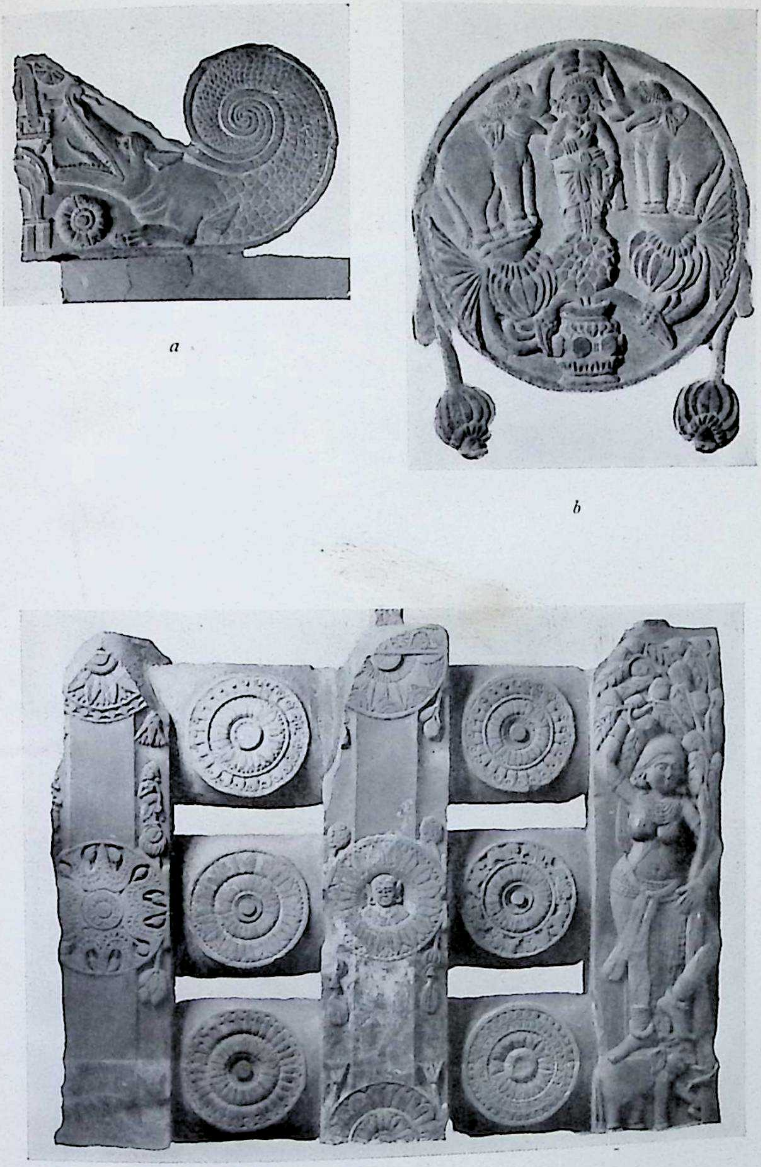


a

b

Bharhut: *a-b* Detailed views of Railing—corner-pillar in *b* shows Yaksha Kubera and Yakshī Chandrā

Pl. VI



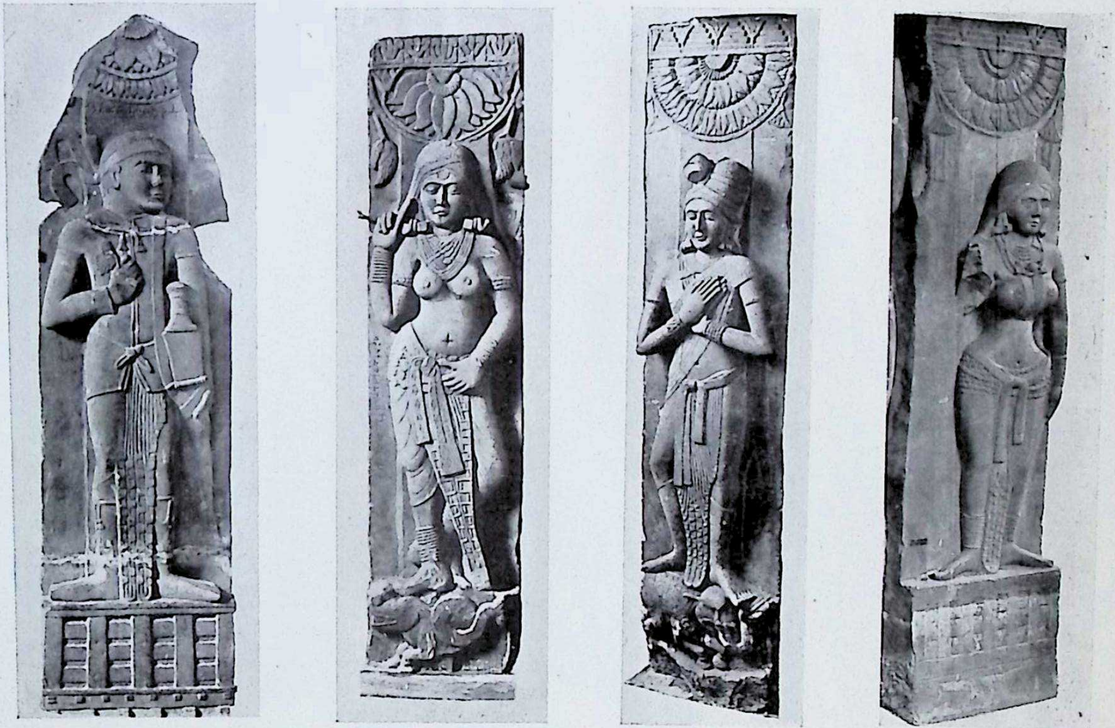
a

b

c

Bharhut: *a* End of Gateway architrave *b* The Fertility goddess
c Railing showing the goddess Chulakokā

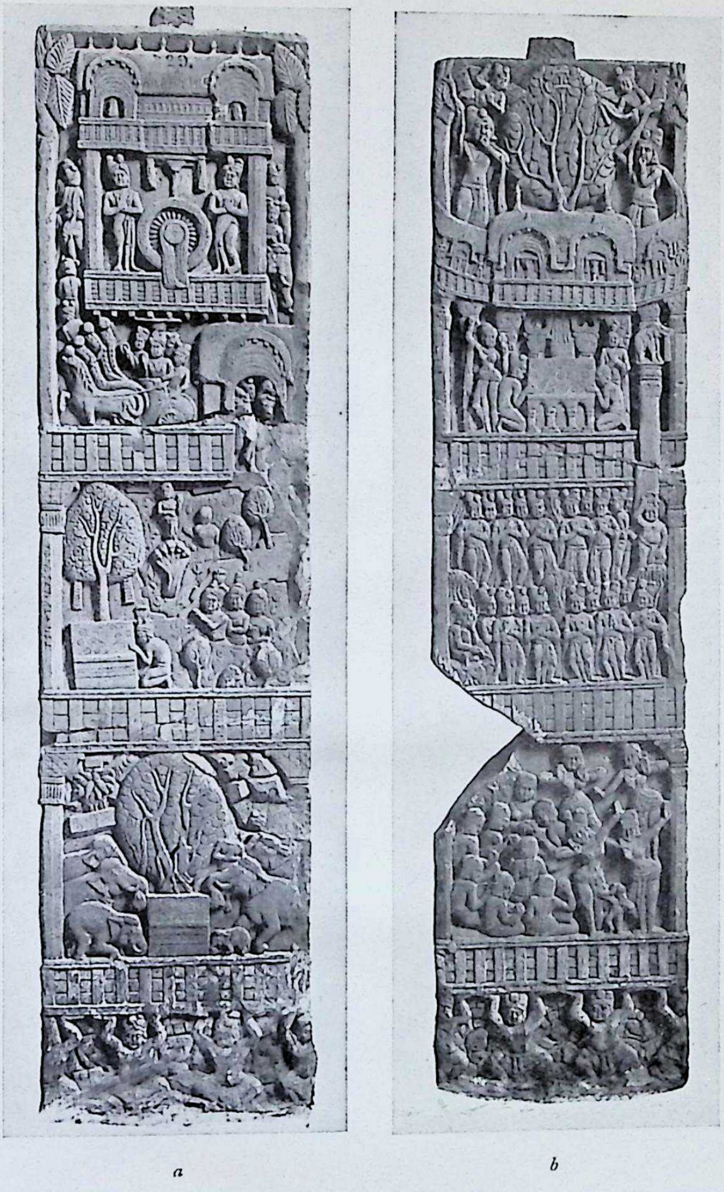
Pl. VII



a *b* *c* *d*

Bharhut: *a* Warrior God *b* Yakshī Sudasanā *c* Yaksha Supāvasa *d* Goddess Sirimā

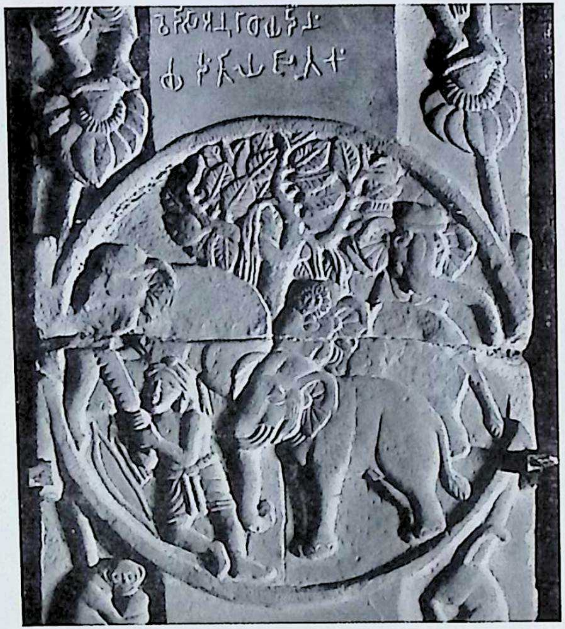
Pl. VIII



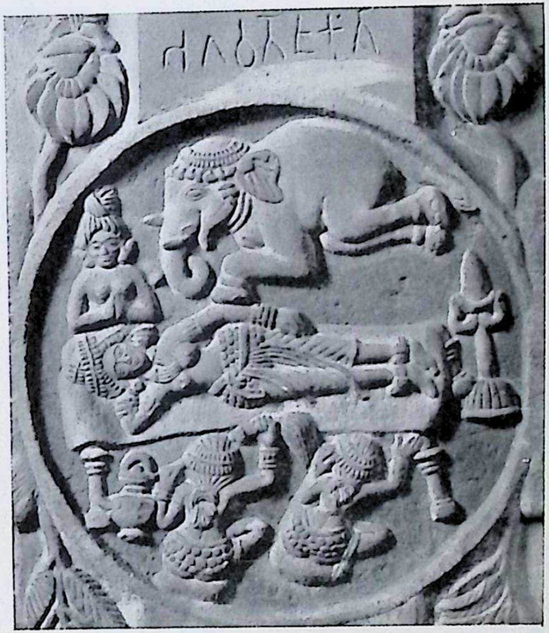
a b

Bharhut : Scenes from the Buddha's Life

Pl. IX



a

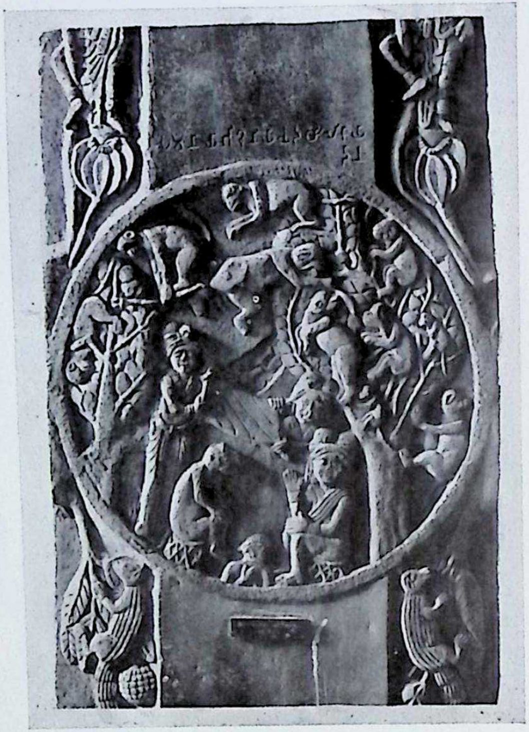


b

Bharhut: *a* Chhadaṁtiya-Jātaka

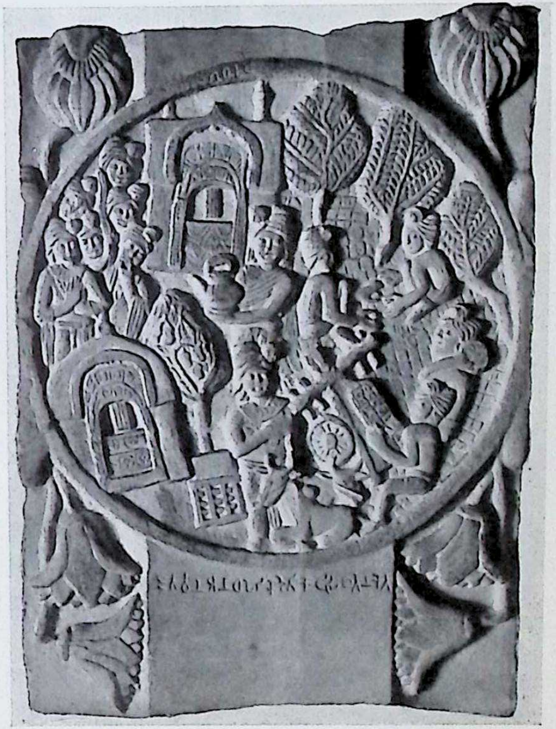
Bharhut: *b* The Dream of Māyā

Pl. X



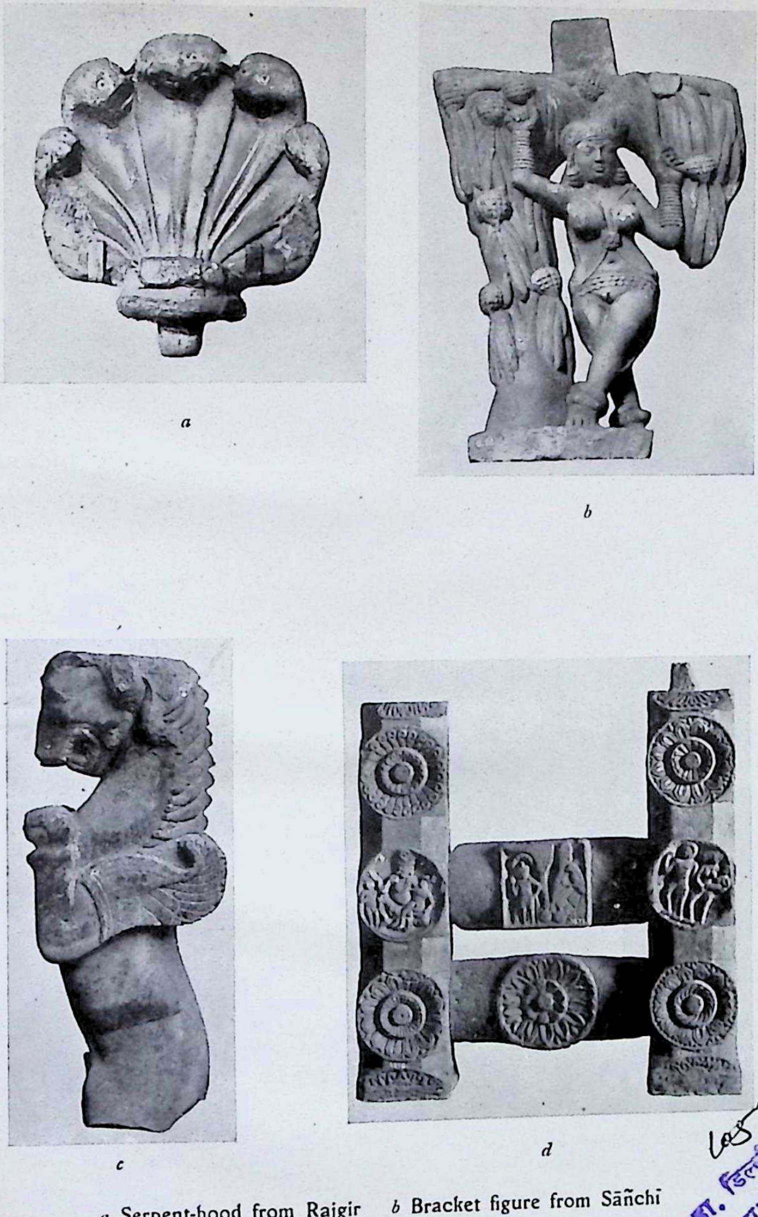
a

Bharhut : *a* Mahākapi-Jātaka



b

Bharhut : *b* Jetavana Scene



a Serpent-hood from Rajgir *b* Bracket figure from Sāñchī
c Griffin figure from Patna *d* Railing from Patna

Log-34
डा. डिल्ली रमण रेड्डी
कल्याणी नेरमी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय